

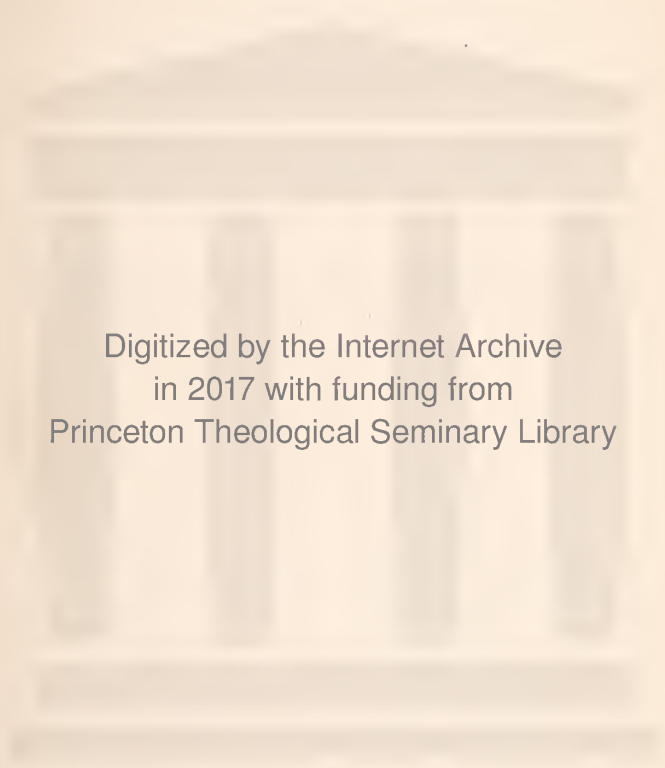
1913
REPORT ON INDIA





BX 5671 .I55 E92 1920

The Eucharist in India



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



THE EUCHARIST IN INDIA

THE EUCHARIST IN INDIA

A PLEA FOR A DISTINCTIVE LITURGY
FOR THE INDIAN CHURCH

WITH A SUGGESTED FORM

BY

✓
J. C. WINSLOW

J. E. G. FESTING

D. R. ATHAVALE

E. C. RATCLIFF

WITH A PREFACE

BY

THE BISHOP OF BOMBAY

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK

BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS

1920



TO THE
SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR
AND TO
ALL INDIAN CHRISTIANS
WHO LOVE BOTH CHRIST AND INDIA



CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S PREFACE	ix

PREFACE

By the Right Rev. EDWIN JAMES PALMER, D.D., Bishop of Bombay	xi
---	----

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

I. THE NEED OF A LITURGY FOR THE INDIAN CHURCH.

By the Rev. J. C. WINSLOW, M.A. Priest and Missionary in the Diocese of Bombay. Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Bombay	1
--	---

II. THE RELATION OF FREEDOM TO CATHOLICITY IN LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT. By Major J. E. G.

FESTING, R.E.	29
-----------------------	----

III. THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE AND THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES. By E. C. RATCLIFF, Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge

39

THE LITURGY

71

APPENDICES

1. On the Vestments	109
2. On the Censing and the Kiss of Peace	110
3. On the use of the Chapāti	111
4. A shortened form for Week-day Celebrations	112

A TABLE OF THE SOURCES OF THE PRAYERS IN THE LITURGY

113

EDITOR'S PREFACE

FOR the suggested form of Indian Liturgy printed in this book, its four authors are jointly responsible. The three essays with which it is prefaced represent, broadly, the views of us all; but for the particular expression given to those views in the several essays only the individual author is responsible. Mr. Athavale, who furnished much of the inspiration behind our undertaking, feels that his point of view is sufficiently expressed in what has been written without his contributing a separate essay. He only wishes to add that 'up to now Christianity has been considered by Indians to be the religion of the conquerors; but now any one can see that Christianity is permeating every phase of India's thought. The Gospel Message no more sounds foreign to India's ears. Hence it is no great wonder that Indian Christians are beginning to feel that they ought to dispense with forms of service which do not suit their religious emotions, and worship and serve God in forms that both are Catholic and appeal to their temperament.'

We are greatly indebted to the Bishop of Bombay for the interest which he has taken in this venture, and the suggestions which he has made, as well as for the Preface which he has contributed to our book; as also to many other friends, Indian and

English, for advice and criticisms. We would also express our thanks to the Primus of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the Most Reverend the Bishop of Brechin, for giving us on behalf of the Bishops of that Church permission to print the Proper Prefaces contained in the Scottish Liturgy for the Epiphany, Annunciation, Festivals of Apostles, All Saints' Day, Dedication of Churches, and Consecration of Bishops.

J. C. WINSLOW.

P R E F A C E

THIS little book is both revolutionary and important. I commend it to the careful attention of all who are interested in missionary policy. In particular I commend it to my fellow-Bishops who are soon to meet in the Lambeth Conference.

It has the merit of presenting a crucial question in a concrete form.

At the same time it raises several issues of the highest interest, the discussion of which does not come within the scope of the essayists. On these I should like to make a few observations.

The points which I desire to take this opportunity of discussing briefly are the following :

- (1) The relation of any such proposal as that which is made in this book to past pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference and of the Indian Synod of Bishops.
- (2) The relation of uniformity to unity of worship.
- (3) The manner in which liturgical forms should grow.

(1) There have been many pronouncements by the Lambeth Conference on the general subject of the adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer to the

differing needs of different races and localities. They will be found in the 8th Resolution of 1867, in the '*Report of Committee on the relation to each other of Missionary Bishops and of Missionaries of various branches of the Anglican Communion acting in the same country*,' paragraphs 2-7, which is incorporated in the official letter of 1878, in the 10th Resolution of 1888, in the 45th and 46th Resolutions of 1897, and in the 24th and 27th Resolutions of 1908, and in the passages of Encyclical Letters and of Reports of Committees bearing on the same subjects in the last three Conferences. The general line of all these pronouncements is that the Book of Common Prayer is assumed as the standard of all worship in the Anglican Communion. The existing differences are treated as mere variations of the Book of Common Prayer, and nothing more than similar variations are contemplated in the future in regard to services provided for in that book. Resolution 24 of 1908 may be quoted in full as illustrating the tone and scope of all that has as yet come from the Lambeth Conference on this subject.

- '24. While the educative value of the Book of Common Prayer and the importance of retaining it as a bond of union and standard of devotion should be fully recognised, every effort should be made, under due authority, to render the forms of public worship more intelligible to uneducated congregations and better suited to the

widely diverse needs of the various races within the Anglican Communion.'

It will be at once recognised that the proposal for the introduction of a liturgy framed on Oriental models is revolutionary. Such an idea does not seem to have been considered by any Committee of the Lambeth Conference or hinted at in any Resolution. There is a tacit assumption that for one reason or another the English Liturgy would be always used by every branch of the Communion—certainly by every branch directly connected with the Church of England—and that the variations which might be allowed would be really variations in detail. Surely our incomparable Liturgy will be acceptable to all the world—at the most it might be made a little more 'intelligible' to the 'un-educated.' It seems very doubtful whether those who voted for Resolution 24 of 1908 could have contemplated the possibility that the needs of some races would only be satisfied by a quite different liturgy.

Yet that is the point of view of this book. We will not go on assuming that because we like our Liturgy, Indians must like it, or that, because it suits us, a little tinkering will suffice to make it suit them. The authors of this book believe it to be a fact that Indian nature would express itself differently from English nature in worship. Their ideal is not to make the English Liturgy more acceptable to Indians, but to encourage Indians to discover the

most natural expression of their congenital devotional instincts. As a step towards realising this ideal, they propose the use of an adaptation of that Eastern Liturgy which has been for a long time acclimatised in India.

A question of Church order here arises. The Lambeth Conference of 1897 passed the following Resolutions on the *Jus Liturgicum* of Bishops :

- ‘45. That this Conference recognises the exclusive right of each Bishop to put forth or sanction additional services for use within his jurisdiction, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by the provincial or other lawful authority.
- ‘46. That this Conference also recognises in each Bishop within his jurisdiction the exclusive right of adapting the services in the Book of Common Prayer to local circumstances, and also of directing or sanctioning the use of additional prayers, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by provincial or other lawful authority, provided also that any such adaptation shall not affect the doctrinal teaching or value of the Service or passage thus adapted.’

It cannot, I believe, be reasonably argued that either of these Resolutions amounts to a statement that a Bishop without the consent of the ‘provincial or other lawful authority’ could rightly exercise his *Jus Liturgicum* to authorise the use of an entirely

different eucharistic office. And further, the possibility of a Provincial authority wishing to put forth such an office is not even contemplated in these Resolutions: still less is any opinion expressed on the propriety of such an action.

But in India we are face to face with pronouncements of the Provincial Authority.

Resolution 8 of the Episcopal Synod of 1904 reads:

‘The attention of the Synod having been directed to a growing demand for Offices and Forms of Prayer and Worship in modification of, or in addition to, those which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer:

Resolved:—(1) We desire to make or permit no alterations whatever in the Book of Common Prayer itself, either in its English form or in translations; but to keep it entire and unchanged, as the standard to the teaching of which all new or adapted Offices or Forms of Divine Service must conform.

(2) The Book of Common Prayer being thus kept intact, we desire to recognise a wide liberty in the variations which each Bishop may see fit to allow; provided that such variations are made to meet needs which are specially felt in this Province, and not for the purpose of improving the contents of the Book of Common Prayer on purely liturgical grounds.

- (3) With a view to promoting and at the same time controlling such elasticity and adaptation, we appoint a Committee. . . .’

The Committee appointed reported to the Synod of 1908. That Synod, after considering the Report, passed a Resolution (No. 11) dealing with a great many details in various Services. The only part of this Resolution which deals with the present subject runs as follows :

‘5. In the opinion of the Synod the following changes may, for the present, be left to the discretion of the Diocesan Authority, viz. :

- (a) In the Communion Service the occasional substitution for the Ten Commandments of the New Testament Summary, or the omission of the prayers for the King, or the shortening of the Words of Administration.’

From the sentiments which underlie these Resolutions to the acceptance of such a liturgy as is proposed in the following pages is a very long step.

It may be convenient if I clear up my own position in the matter. I was not a member of the Synods of 1904 or 1908. Nothing affecting the matter has been passed in subsequent Synods. Since the liturgy proposed in this book was composed I have had no opportunity of bringing it before a Synod. I feel pretty confident that the Indian Synod would not consider such a proposal till after the ensuing Lambeth Conference which ought to

throw light on the principles of the matter. Meanwhile I have considered myself not justified in giving leave for the use of the liturgy set out in the following pages in any public service. I have permitted it to be used a few times privately by those who are interested in its compilation, because it is impossible to compose forms for public worship except by using them in actual worship. Further, I have not subjected it to that careful and detailed scrutiny which I should have to give it before authorising it for public use. Consequently, though I approve of its general lines, I am not prepared to commit myself to its details.

To resume the thread of my argument. While it is impossible, in view of the pronouncements quoted above, to advance immediately in the direction indicated by this book, the published programme of the Lambeth Conference, 1920, indicates that an opportunity will occur at that Conference of discovering whether the opinion of the Churches in communion with us is moving in that direction. The second subject in that Conference is 'Missionary Problems,' and one of the problems to be discussed under that heading is '(c) Liturgical variations permissible to a Province or Diocese.' It is not India alone which desires this subject to be brought before the Conference. Nor is it from the Diocese of Bombay alone that the needs of India will be illustrated. But I welcome the wish of my good friends and colleagues in Ahmednagar to publish this brochure at this moment. In doing so they do not

represent the diocese, or even the mission to which some of them are attached. They represent only themselves. But they put in a clear and concrete form at an opportune moment a demand which has an element of universality in it, and a proposal for meeting the demand which is arresting and instructive as an illustration.

(2) As Mr. Winslow's essay shows at length, the motive for such a proposal as is made in this book is the development of worship in forms which will be felt to be natural to Indians. St. Paul emphasises the need of praying with the spirit and praying with the understanding also. I agree entirely with the authors of this little book that either of these is made difficult, if not impossible, when men are asked to pray through the medium of a foreign and alien form. The varieties of national temperament seem to demand varieties of liturgical expression. Whence then comes the insistence on uniformity which is so familiar to us both in our own Church and in the Roman Communion? What is the value and justification of uniformity?

Though it would be out of place in a preface to attempt a real discussion of so great a question, it may not be amiss to mention one or two considerations on which the question seems to turn. Perhaps one of the most needed contributions towards the discussion at the Lambeth Conference would be a really scholarly and philosophic statement of the history and value of uniformity in the Church.

If the question be asked, 'Is there any positive value in uniformity in public worship in itself?' the answer seems at first sight to be that there is no direct or primary value in uniformity so far as the quality of the worship is concerned. Congregations differ in understanding of spiritual things, in circumstances, in race, in education, in an almost infinite number of conditions. The essence of all worship is expressed in the ancient words :

'Lift up your hearts.'

'We lift them up unto the Lord.'

Uniformity of worship throughout the world or even over a large area does nothing to secure this elevation of heart; it rather hampers it. But, if such an argument be good, why not apply it to congregational worship? The members of a congregation differ in apprehension of spiritual things, in circumstances, in temperament, often in education, sometimes in race. They also often feel hampered by the common form of words in which they are asked to join. Is not the uniformity of congregational worship a mistake? Yet the promise of the Lord's presence is to 'two or three *gathered together* in His name' and of His favourable hearing to *agreement* in what they ask. Again, the members are nothing apart from the Body. Their worship is ideally *in* the Church: and this is made actually apparent when they are met to join in offering it. This is why we willingly submit to the inconvenience and restraint of saying the same words together and

of training our hearts to follow with devotion the words uttered on our behalf by the Priest. The unity of peace and love is essential to our Lord's design of saving mankind, and His design is to save it by bringing it into, and maintaining it in, a Body—His Body. 'Saying the same thing' is the symbol of this oneness in the Body. No occasion can be more appropriate for every possible expression of the sense of unity than when as members of His body we offer His sacrifice as His and also ours.

Thus the argument turns round and we begin to ask, 'If we feel the spiritual reasons for "saying the same thing" in the congregation to be so cogent, why not apply the same reasoning to the worship of the whole universal Church? It is the one Body which offers its praise and thanksgiving, its sacrifice and devotion in the one Spirit, through the one Lord, to the one God. Would it not be an immense gain to our sense of these unities, and a far more adequate expression of them, if throughout the world we used the same words in worship, and above all in Eucharistic worship?'

This question brings into clear light the deepest value of uniformity, viz., that it is a *symbol* of unity. This is the only defence which can be even plausibly set up for the attempt of Rome to impose the Roman Mass in Latin on all the world. But an act is not justified simply because it is symbolic of something good and true. It must be justifiable in itself before it can be justified as a symbol. If I steal a loaf of bread and give it to a starving man, no doubt the

action is a symbol of my pity, but it is not therefore justifiable. The universal use of the same words in a language mostly unknown to the worshippers is unjustifiable in itself, because the primary object of worship is that the worshippers should worship with heart and mind, in spirit and in truth, and that in worshipping they should be one in heart and mind and one in spirit and truth. Now if they all are compelled to worship in exactly the same words of one language, most of the object is sacrificed to an attempt to symbolise one element in it. That which is the symbol of the oneness makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to use the heart and mind, or to be sensitive of the spirit and the truth. But there is another count to be made against uniformity of worship. It is no doubt a symbol of unity. But the unity to be symbolised is not a bare unity of identity, it is a unity which includes differences. The unity of the worshippers includes all their personal differences, the unity of the truth includes its infinite complexity, the unity of God includes His differentiation in Trinity. Thus absolute uniformity in worship, inasmuch as it suggests undifferentiated unity, suggests what is false; it is an imperfect symbol, for it symbolises only part of the truth.

There is yet more to be said. The use of one form of worship is recommended as a standard of devotion, and its educative value is emphasised. If it could be pretended that any one liturgy is perfect, that it represents all that worshippers ought to feel, and represents it in the best way, it might be reasonable

to impose it as a standard to which all men should struggle to rise. But no candid student of liturgies could affirm this of any one that has ever existed. And even if such a liturgy were produced, would the performance of it in ignorant congregations, especially of youthful churches, give them their best chance of taking their part in the world-wide offering of thanksgiving and service? Is not the fullness of that offering more likely to be made up by allowing different people and races to contribute their characteristic shares to it? The great unity of truth is being gradually explored and elucidated by the characteristic contributions of different learners. The great unity of worship is similarly being fulfilled by differing peoples taking in it the parts natural to their characters.

Again, there are certain arguments for uniformity of worship which are drawn from secondary consequences or by-products of it. These must not be allowed to outweigh arguments drawn from the primary purposes of worship. A uniform liturgy is recommended as securing unity of teaching. But the object of worship is primarily to please God, not to teach men. In England, again, we cling to the uniformity of the Prayer Book Services because it represents a compromise between various shades of thought, whose champions are very jealous that one should not gain an advantage over the other. Again, the primary object of worship is not to effect a compromise between men, but to enjoy an accepted covenant with God. But even if it were a primary

object of the Prayer Book to maintain an accepted compromise between English religious parties, the Indians are not one of these parties, and the compromise is nothing to them.

We must ask further whether it is a fact that various liturgies are detrimental to true unity. In our own Communion, for instance, does the concurrent use of the Scottish and the English Office in the Episcopal Church of Scotland break the unity of that Church? Do we feel separated from the Americans because they have a liturgy different from both, but more like the Scottish? If it is affirmed that the Scottish and American Offices differ from the English in mere unimportant details, why is the desire to have an Office similar to the Scottish met with such a storm of opposition in England? This opposition is compounded of prejudice and sound appreciation. It is prejudice which imagines a deep doctrinal difference, it is a sound appreciation which recognises that as vehicles for worship the two types of Office differ greatly. But however that may be, it must be borne in mind with reference to the proposal of this book that we have in our own Communion already three liturgies, or, if the South African Province finally adopts its revised liturgy, four. And the use in Scotland would be a precedent for India, if India allowed an Eastern liturgy to be used. Any church which desired it could be allowed to use the English Communion Service, and all the Government churches whose congregations are composed mainly of temporary residents in India such as soldiers and

officials and their families, undoubtedly would do so. Further, it should be remembered that the Roman Church of to-day allows its Uniats to retain the use of their Eastern liturgies. Would any Roman really maintain that this breaks the unity of his Communion?

Let us look back too on the centuries when many uses existed in Western Christendom as well as in the East. Did this disunite, enfeeble or confuse the Eucharistic worship of the world? On the contrary, it enriched and fulfilled it. Surely any candid critic would say that the worship of the world, considered as a whole, is impoverished by the suppression of the Mozarabic Liturgy.

It may be opportune to notice that the Bishop of Zanzibar at the meeting at Kikuyu in 1918, in making proposals for a United Church of East Africa, included the following as his ninth proposal: 'The acceptance of the principle of corporate worship, each Body using the form and matter of Baptism, and a valid form of the consecration of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. In the rest, both in administering Sacraments, and in other times of worship, each Body to be left entirely free.' I am told that he was willing to consider any form of consecration of the Eucharist valid which included a recitation of our Lord's words at the Last Supper. This opens an astonishing vista of variety. The authors of this book, as Major Festing's essay shows, would have something to urge against indefinite latitude. But this proposal of the Bishop of Zanzibar as well as the

arrangements made for the Uniats by the Popes are enough to indicate that the principles underlying this book cannot be summarily dismissed as 'uncatholic.'

Perhaps it may be permissible to outline a provisional judgment on the relation of uniformity to unity in that department of worship with which we are immediately concerned, Eucharistic worship. We recognise that it was of the Divine wisdom that our Lord left us not with a form of words, but with a series of actions: '*Do this*' He said (not *Say this*) '*in remembrance of Me.*' Words would have needed translation. The acts need only to be repeated; they interpret themselves from the simplest experiences. The Lord's symbol of unity was the identity of the acts. The Church has surrounded the acts, interpreted and expounded them, with varying words and subsidiary actions which symbolise both the diversity of the wealth of truth which the acts of the first institution represented, and also the diversities of the worshipping Church. Yet in doing so, the Church has developed a striking general agreement about the main elements that come naturally into Eucharistic worship. We cannot after nineteen centuries attempt to make a brand new liturgy. That would be presumptuous and wasteful, and it would also separate us from the great harmony of the Eucharistic worship of the world. It is impossible anywhere in the world for any church or congregation to present to God an Eucharistic worship which is completely adequate to the whole truth of the Eucharist, but, if each church labours continually to make more deep

and sincere its apprehension and expression of its devotion, the whole Church taken together may present a not unworthy sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

The following pages are concerned with an attempt to enable the Indian Church to take its proper natural and characteristic part in the worship of the universal Church.

(3) How should liturgical forms grow?

It will perhaps be objected by some readers that the authors of this book have not confined themselves to Eastern sources in composing their liturgy. Liturgical scholars are sometimes offended by a sense of incongruity when an isolated passage from one well-known source is introduced into a service which is in the main derived from another. I have heard such a criticism levelled against the Scottish Liturgy. But I must confess that I have always found the Eastern elements, which are introduced into it, really valuable and edifying. I believe that the same might be said of the Western elements introduced into the liturgy contained in this book. At any rate, it seems unreasonable not to take advantage of all that is best wherever it has first arisen.

‘The faith being one,’ wrote Augustine of Canterbury, ‘are there different customs in different Churches?’

Gregory answered, ‘What thou hast found in any Church more pleasing to the Almighty God, that do thou solicitously choose out, and in the English

Church, young in the faith, pour in with excellent instruction what thou gatherest from many Churches.'

A devoted child of the English Church may well desire that the Indian Church should be built up under the direction of similar wisdom.

No one can tell at this stage which of the good things that the past has bequeathed the Indian Church may be able to 'make its own by use.'

First, then, liturgical forms may best follow ancient models—for those models represent centuries of actual devotion—but pedantic purism should be avoided. The aim is not antiquarian correctness but living prayer.

Second, I desire to urge very strongly that liturgies cannot be written. They may be corrected and polished in a study. They are born, they grow in church. Liturgies are made by being used. Until one has offered a prayer many times in actual worship, one cannot tell whether it is a prayer or something else, a sermon, a pamphlet, an epigram or an artificial string of tags. When one has tried to pray a prayer many times, one is led to understand what is wrong, not only in its expression but also in its sentiments. In that way, and that way only, it can be gradually got right. Much more is this true of complete services, where proportion and sequence, movement and rest, the part of the people and that of the Priest have all to be adjusted.

I feel sure, and wish to urge upon the Church, that the practical conclusion from such considerations

must be that preparatory and experimental stages should be interposed before the definite sanctioning of liturgical forms. The Bishops ought to exercise the *Jus Liturgicum* not suddenly and finally but by steps. When proposals for new liturgical forms are made, the Bishop should consider whether they imply new principles or not. If they do not and are otherwise promising, he should authorise those who wish such changes to try them, and he should, after a while, inquire into their acceptability and value. When he thinks something like finality in form and substance is reached, he can authorise the service (or the part of a service) for his whole diocese. If, however, the proposed novelty raises questions of principle, the Bishop is bound to take counsel with the Bishops of his Province before allowing the service to get into the stage of experimental use. English traditions do not dictate such a series of steps, but in India the provincial sense is strong and the need of experiment greater.

What I now desire is the consent of the Indian Synod or of the Lambeth Conference to some such liturgy as that proposed in this book being advanced to the stage of *experimental use*. It is only by passing it through that test, that we can hope to bring it into a shape in which it might merit provincial sanction, as being a tried and approved vehicle for the real devotion of Indians.

EDWIN JAMES BOMBAY.

I

THE NEED OF A LITURGY FOR
THE INDIAN CHURCH

BY

JOHN C. WINSLOW, M.A.

PRIEST AND MISSIONARY IN THE DIOCESE OF BOMBAY
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF BOMBAY

THE NEED OF A LITURGY FOR THE INDIAN CHURCH

1

THE object which the writers of this book have in mind is that of stimulating thought and discussion, such as might lead to a development which is long overdue—the compilation of an Indian Liturgy for the Indian Church.

A special obligation would seem to rest in this connection upon the Missions in India which are connected with the Anglican Communion. The Roman Church is content to transplant its own Latin Mass unchanged to its daughter Churches in India.¹ The Free Churches have not hitherto felt the need of liturgical forms of worship to any great extent. It is the peculiar boast of the Church of England that she retains her catholic heritage of worship, but adapts it to the particular needs and character of the nation. It is therefore all the more lamentable that, after a century of work, the Anglican Missions in India should not yet have reached the point of producing even the beginnings of an Indian Prayer Book.

The Indian Christian community which is associated with the Church of England is now an important body, whose numbers must be approaching half a million, and whose membership comprises men

¹ The Romo-Syrians in Travancore are allowed to use Syriac, but this is no more intelligible to them than Latin.

and women of position and influence in all the principal departments of life. Yet, partly through the fault of our English woodenness and lack of imagination, and partly through the lack of independence and initiative in the classes from which most of the earliest converts were drawn, they have been content to go on using for their worship a prayer-book which is simply a literal translation in every detail of our English book, from the Liturgy itself and the Daily Offices down to the Calendar of (largely English) Saints, the Ornaments Rubric about the second year of King Edward the Sixth, and the Thirty-Nine Articles! And this wholly foreign book is in many places supplemented by an almost equally sacred companion—Hymns Ancient and Modern, translated, not into the poetry of the country, but into a marvellous arrangement of vernacular words in *English* metre, so that they can be sung to their *English* tunes! Surely our inveterate Anglicising tendency could hardly be carried further!

But how disastrous! The Indian Christians have in the past been only too apt to copy us of the West in all our Western ways without our encouraging them further. Many of them have imagined that the true mark of distinction and progress is to adopt our dress and to follow our manners. And, as a result, they have become, at least until recent years, largely denationalised, appearing to their fellow-countrymen as imitation-English rather than as true Indians.¹ It is easy to understand the hindrance

¹ The younger generation of educated Indian Christians are almost all keen nationalists, but this new spirit has not yet set itself in any great measure to solve the problem of presenting the Christian religion in Indian fashion, at least as regards forms of worship.

which this has constituted to conversions from the higher castes; and in these days especially, when the National Movement is stirring the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, a Brahman will feel the greatest repugnance to allying himself with people whom he regards as untrue to their nation. And, when the worship of the Church is also wholly foreign to him—when he finds there forms of worship that are entirely strange, words of prayer so crude and curious that they stir in him no feelings of devotion, and music which sounds to him utterly barbarous—he is still more convinced that he can find in the Christian Church no congenial resting-place.

And, if it be said that the Indian Church must in this matter work out its own salvation, that it is hopeless for Westerners to try to fashion an Indian Prayer Book, the answer is that this is, of course, absolutely true, and the writers of this book would be the first to press for its recognition. But the difficulty at the present time is one not always recognised in England, viz., that these Western forms of worship have been now so long in vogue that many Indian Christians, and specially the older men who lead the congregations, have grown much attached to them, and are apt to resent the suggestion that they are in any way inadequate. Unless we of the West who are concerned in mission work press for these changes and do our part in *helping* the Indian Church to fashion for itself truly Indian forms of devotion, there is some danger that the existing Western forms will become more and more firmly rooted, and will attain among these conservative peoples all the sanctity which age bestows. We must move, and move quickly, while things are

still plastic ; and we must move specially in the way of stirring up those young Indians of education and initiative, who are beginning to feel strongly the influence of the National Movement and to realise how essential it is that the Indian Church should be truly Indian, if she is to fulfil her mission. It is these men who will do the work that is required, when once their eyes are opened to the need. It is to them primarily that we address ourselves.

2

The first step towards the production of an indigenous Prayer Book may well be the compilation of a liturgy for the celebration of the Eucharist, together with some form for the baptism of catechumens and their admission to the Church. These services are needed from the beginning. Moreover, in the case of the Liturgy, we are bound not to depart too far from the old models, and this makes our work easier. In the service of Baptism it is essential to retain the use of water (immersion should certainly be the normal method in India) and of the Threefold Name ; and probably the Churches of all countries would wish to include in the service an open declaration of repentance and faith on the part of the person to be baptized ; but beyond this there is room for the baptismal prayers and ceremonies to be freely adapted to the ideas and customs of the particular nation. In other services there is still less that is essential to be preserved. To take but one instance, we need in India a special marriage service for Indian Christians. Such of the Hindu marriage forms and ceremonies as can be freed from idolatrous

associations should be preserved,¹ and the whole service should be such as any Hindu would at once recognise as a marriage service, the distinctive point being, of course, the blessing of the Christian Church and the Christian form of the prayers. The same liberty is ours, and should be used, in regard to all other kinds of occasional offices, and not least for morning and evening prayers.² But with the Eucharistic Liturgy it is different. This is the one great act of worship which binds together, or should bind together, all Christians in all lands; and at least in its broad outline it has always remained, and must always remain, the same. There is, of course, room for much variation in detail. Eastern liturgies, in particular, have always shown certain common divergences from those of the West; and the various liturgies of the East differ one from another in certain important particulars. The varieties of national temperament and cast of mind call for recognition here also. That is why we plead for a distinctive Indian Liturgy, and hope that suggestions may be made in regard to the liturgy which we have tentatively put forward, so as to make it more characteristically Indian. Yet it remains true that the main features of our Eucharistic worship must be the same in all the world, and this point is elaborated in greater detail in the essay contributed by Major Festing. It is therefore the easiest, as well as the most important, point at which to make a beginning.

¹ In many Churches the mangalsūtra is already used, but it should *supplant* the ring, which, as far as I know, is purely Western, and not be used in addition to it.

² There are still hundreds of Indian Christian boys' and girls' schools, whose staple spiritual diet is shortened Matins or shortened Evensong. On the other hand, the Rev. N. V. Tilak in Western India has adapted some of the daily devotions of the Brahmans to Christian use.

3

The liturgy printed in this book is an essay in this direction. It was the present writer's happiness to have associated with him in his work in Western India a young Indian deacon who, being a person of some independent thought, felt that the Anglican Liturgy, in which he had been brought up, failed to satisfy his spiritual needs, and that some different form of liturgy was required, if the Indian instinct of worship was to be rightly used and trained. I had also with me a young Cambridge man, who had made a considerable study of ancient liturgies, and had also spent some time with the Syrian Christians of Malabar, into a sympathetic understanding of whose worship some acquaintance with Syriac gave him an entry. He contributes the third essay in this book. We were joined by a senior officer in the R.E., who was interested both in the growth of liturgies and in the development of the Indian Church, and was willing to devote his Sunday afternoons with us to a study of the gradual evolution of Eucharistic worship from its earliest beginnings, and specially of the forms which it took in the Eastern Church. In particular, our thoughts were directed to the old Syrian Church in South India, which can trace back its descent to the early centuries of Christianity, and which is a Church of the land as no other is, Indian in all its ways. It seemed to us that there, if anywhere, we should find the starting-point we needed; and that, just as that Church may well prove to be the nucleus round which the united Church of India will be built up,¹ so its liturgy, which is an Indian

¹ 'I can see no better hope for India than that this ancient and venerable Church, so truly Indian in its character, so free from the taint of the

adaptation of what Dr. Adrian Fortescue considers the most beautiful liturgy in Christendom—the Greek Liturgy of St. James—might form a norm or pattern for the Eucharistic worship of all Christian India. It fulfils the two necessary conditions indicated above ; for in its main features it is one with all other Eastern liturgies, and yet it has been in certain respects adapted to its new home, so that the Christians of India feel themselves at home in it. But, as it stands, it is unsuited for universal use in one respect, viz., that it is far too long for modern requirements, needing at least three hours for its complete recital. The liturgy which we finally drew up and have ventured to put out in this book, as a tentative suggestion of the kind of form which an Indian Liturgy might take, is in the main a free adaptation of that of the Syrian Church. It has been enormously shortened ; some of the less important parts have been omitted altogether ; most of what is retained is greatly condensed, only a few passages of any length being word for word of the original ; some small changes have been suggested by modern modes of thought or expression or life ; a good deal has been taken from other Eastern sources ; and the variable Collects and the Proper Prefaces are Western features, which seemed to us too valuable to be omitted. But it still remains in

invader, so attractive in its worship, so holy in many of its lives, so rich in its poverty and simplicity, so pure in its beautiful family life, so strong in the enthusiasm of its young men, should offer itself as the rallying-point for all our small and scattered Christian communities in the rest of India, and at the same time show to Hindus and Mohammedans a Christianity which is as truly at home in the land as their own religions' (*The Eucharistic Life*, Intr., p. xvii., being addresses by two members of the Oxford Mission Brotherhood to the Students' Conference of the Syrian Christian Church at Kottayam in 1916, with an Introduction by E. F. B. Longmans, Green and Co.).

its general structure an abbreviated adaptation of the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites in its Indian form. It was necessary for our present purpose that the language should be English; for it is probably from English that any universal liturgy eventually agreed upon for the Indian Church will have to be put into the different vernaculars;¹ but it is of immense importance that such vernacular versions, if made, should not be so much translations as free adaptations. Otherwise they will share the defects of literalism and lack of idiomatic grace which have ruined so many of our vernacular translations of the Bible.

4

It remains to point out some of the respects in which this liturgy seems to us better suited to the needs of the Indian Church than that contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

(1) *The Anaphora*. In its broad outline the Anaphora is the same in almost all the liturgies of the East.² Everywhere we find the same carefully ordered sequence of adoration and prayer. And there is much contained in it which might with advantage be adopted, not only in India, but in the West also. To take but one instance, the Epiclesis, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the offered

¹ There is a good deal to be said for the suggestion that such a liturgy should be prepared in Sanskrit. As the great majority of the Indian languages are of Sanskrit descent, translation into the vernacular would be comparatively simple; and the original might perhaps be used occasionally for Christians well acquainted with Sanskrit, though a vernacular should of course be the normal use everywhere.

² The Liturgy of Adai and Mari is unique in the arrangement of the parts of its Anaphora.

Gifts—which the compilers of the Scottish and American Liturgies have wisely incorporated—is regarded in the East as the culminating moment of the Consecration, and is marked as such in the liturgy printed in this book by the prostration of the people in adoration. The association of the Act of Consecration only with the priest's repetition of our Lord's Words of Institution, as in the Anglican rite, almost inevitably conveys the suggestion of a magic formula, whereas the prayer to the Holy Spirit to sanctify the Gifts to our use is free from this suggestion.

But there are certain features of the Anaphora, also lost in our English rite, which, whilst they might no doubt with advantage be introduced there, have a special appropriateness for an Indian Liturgy.

(*a*) Indian religion has always been marked by the sense of the transitoriness and unreality of all earthly things, and by the effort to enter through mystic contemplation into the appropriation of those spiritual realities which are alone true and abiding. In the highest worship of the Indian Church full scope must be given to this deep-rooted instinct. But Christianity both fulfils and supplements. Hindu mysticism has two serious and allied defects—first, that the Being with whom it seeks for union has not been conceived as a Holy Person, demanding holiness also in His worshipper; and second, that, largely in consequence of this, the end of the mystic's contemplation has been a selfish one; he has aimed at his own deliverance (*mokṣa*), and lost sight of the needs of his fellow-men. Our Eastern Anaphora gives full play to the mystic and contemplative instinct of India, but corrects its defects. For we are bidden to rise away from earth and enter

into the heavenly worship itself; but the adoration in which we join with the hosts of heaven and with the Church triumphant is the adoration of the Thrice-Holy God, Who made man to dwell with Him in a like holiness, and when he fell short of that high calling, made a way through the Great Redemption for his restoration. We lie prostrate in adoring contemplation of the Mystery in which the Holy Spirit moves upon our Sacrament to make it the means of our participation in the Divine Life; and then, with hearts and minds still lifted up to heaven, we plead in the Great Intercession for the common practical needs of the Church and of all men. The combination of these various elements gives us the true worship of Christian mysticism.

(b) There is another feature of Indian mysticism, which needs to be corrected in Christian worship. The Indian mind tends to sit very loosely to historical fact; Hinduism, unlike Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, has no founder, and to the Hindu religion seems to have no connection with history. It is sometimes brought as an argument against Christianity by Hindu controversialists that its dependence on certain alleged events in time prevent it from being ever the eternal and universal religion. There is therefore a danger that the Indian Church may come to disregard, or lay inadequate stress on, those historical facts which form the basis of our faith; and it is of special importance in India to retain the Anamnesis with its remembrance before God at every Eucharist, not only of the death of Christ, but also of His Resurrection, Ascension, and Session at the Right Hand of the Majesty on High, by all of which we plead, and for which we thank Him. The ancient 'Symbol of the Resurrection' called the

Commixture, which signifies the re-union of our Lord's Soul and Body on Easter morning, may also have value in this connection, and is retained in our Liturgy.

(c) Though Hinduism has no historical founder or founders, it has always treated with the greatest veneration the holy men of old, and not only those of its own faith but those of other religions as well. The great Mohammedan saints are revered by all Indians, and Hindus flock with no less piety than Christians to the tomb of St. Francis Xavier in Goa and the shrine of the Virgin at Cochin.

Now whilst this Indian sentiment of reverence has no doubt its superstitious aspect which Christian teaching must reject, it has also a truer aspect which Christian teaching should foster. Christians, too, revere the saints for their goodness, and for the pattern which their lives afford; and, more than this, they believe in the communion of saints within the Body of Christ; and we need emphatically in India some more adequate expression of this belief at our Eucharist than our Anglican rite supplies. And the Anaphora which we have put forward, whilst free from the objections that might have been brought against any actual invocation of the saints, thanks God for the way in which the great saints of old have revealed His glory, and contains a prayer that we and they may be joined in close fellowship, and that we may have the help of their prayers. There is also special mention made of the Blessed Virgin, as the Mother of our Lord, and of St. Thomas, as the Apostle of India.¹

¹ Modern research seems to show that, though the details of the story of St. Thomas' work in India are often open to doubt, there is sufficient evidence to make it probable that he did visit India and make the first Indian members of the Christian Church.

(d) Akin to this reverence for the saints is that paid in India to the deceased ancestors (pitṛ), to whom Brahmans are ordered to offer daily libations, and who would seem to hold almost as large a place in the religion of the Hindu as in that of the Chinese.

In keeping with this tendency, the commemoration of the saints in the Great Intercession is followed by the prayer in which we commend the souls of the departed to God's fatherly goodness, asking finally for ourselves in the actual words of the Syrian Liturgy—too beautiful to be changed—for a Christian and a sinless end, when and as God will, for His glory. The insertion of such a prayer will probably now be approved by most Christians; for we have been coming to realise, specially through the years of war, that the Reformers acted perhaps over-hastily in rejecting all mention of the departed in our prayers, because of the abuses associated with such prayer; or at least that, if there was justification for their action in those days, there is no reason why we to-day should hesitate to commend the souls of those we love, who still live beyond the veil, in simple trust to God as unto a faithful Creator. And, if the practice be thus in itself legitimate and commendable, we should certainly emphasise it in India, since it satisfies an intuitive need of the Indian heart.

(2) *The Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist.*—It will be noticed that in the liturgy we have prepared, as in almost all the liturgies of Christendom, there is far more reference to our Lord's Sacrifice upon the Cross and to our 'offering' of that Sacrifice before the Father than in our Anglican rite. We would plead that this is of special value and importance in a land where sacrifices form a constant feature of the

ordinary worship and sacrificial language is an integral part of the religious phraseology. But also we would urge that this aspect of the Eucharist is so essential a part of its true meaning that it cannot be omitted without serious loss. A word may be said here as to each of these points.

Sacrifice in India goes back to the Vedas, where it appears as the special privilege and function of the Brahman. It is clear that at some of the great Vedic sacrifices thousands of victims were immolated. As far as the evidence goes, sacrifice has not been associated in India with the totemistic idea of the assimilation of the divine life through feeding on the sacred victim. Monier Williams says¹ that in the ancient sacrifices the first aim was 'to present a simple thank-offering' to the gods; the second was 'to nourish the gods with the essence of the offered food, and strengthen them for their duty of maintaining the universe'; the third was that of wresting some boon from them, such as the birth of a son.

Sacrifices at the present day are of two kinds: (a) bloody sacrifices, which are offered usually to the Mother Goddess in one of her many forms, specially in Bengal and Madras. The object here is usually to turn away the anger of the goddess, which has shown itself in the infliction on her votaries of some illness or other affliction; (b) bloodless sacrifices, such as the *homa* or fire sacrifice, in which butter is cast into the flames that the sweet savour may rise up to heaven, or the common offering of grain, fruit, flowers, etc.² Here, too, the main idea seems to be

¹ *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 22.

² We have purposely retained the word 'bloodless' in our liturgy, because bloody sacrifices abound in India. Otherwise we should have preferred some such word as 'spiritual.'

the propitiation of the god or the winning of his favour or of some particular boon.

Now it may be urged with considerable force that this conception of sacrifice carries with it so false an idea of God and of man's relation to Him that it can form no starting-point for Christian teaching, and that all use of sacrificial imagery should be excluded from the language of our teaching and worship. But further consideration would seem to show that such a proposal is too drastic and would involve more loss than gain. It is not without significance that sacrifice is found to be an essential feature in almost all early religions. It is the expression, however imperfect and rudimentary, of a deep-seated instinct of the human spirit; and the treatment demanded by all such instincts is not suppression but education and discipline.

So we find that our Lord, and the Apostles after Him, deliberately took over the language of the Jewish sacrificial system, whilst purifying and spiritualising the ideas which that language enshrined. This is the example which should guide us in dealing with Hindu sacrifice. If we reject the language of sacrifice, we are in danger of destroying, not only the false conceptions associated with the rite, but also the truth after which it is an imperfect groping. Rather should we retain the language and the truth which it embodies, whilst purging it from unworthy associations.

What, then, are the conceptions of positive value, contained in the idea of sacrifice, and what are the false conceptions which must be purged away? The scope of this essay permits only the briefest indication of the answer. (i) The universality of sacrifice indicates man's instinctive sense that the true relation

which should exist between himself and his Creator is in some way interrupted or broken. He is out of harmony with his God. He has in his own heart the vague sense of guilt, deepening as his moral consciousness is quickened. He feels that God's face is turned away from him, that He is angry and must be propitiated, in order that the right relation may be restored.

To the Christian the element of falsehood here is in the *interpretation* of this sense of alienation. The Christian knows that God is Eternal Love, that He is not subject to fits of anger like an earthly father, but that His love for His children remains unchanged, however grievously they may wound Him by their sin. Yet the sense of alienation witnesses to a truth of supreme importance. Man's sin does indeed rise up as a barrier between himself and God; it has indeed broken the happy relationship between child and Father; and, though God unchangingly loves the sinner and yearns over him, He for that very reason hates the sin which comes between them. And because there is this barrier by which man is shut out from his true life, his most crying need is for its removal. Until there be some atonement—in truth some at-one-ment of himself with God—his spirit will remain unsatisfied.

(ii) The second deep instinct of the human heart, which is expressed in sacrifice, is the sense that, if this broken relationship is to be restored, man on his side must make some *offering* to the God from whom he is estranged. He therefore brings his bull or his goat, his food or flowers, and offers them in sacrifice.

Here the false conception to be eradicated is, as the Jewish prophets had already perceived, that God is pleased with material offerings, whereas it is the

spiritual offering of the heart that He desires. The positive and permanent truth is the great principle of surrender, the recognition of God's absolute claim and the giving of our best to Him. Set in the place of bulls and goats the sacrifice of the self to God, the offering of the perfectly consecrated will, and we have come very near to the heart of the Christian religion.

(iii) But there remains one other instinct, vaguely articulate in sacrifice, which made it natural for man to offer some material gift external to himself; and that is his sense that, just because of his own guilt, he himself is unacceptable to God; and, if the lost harmony is to be restored, he must offer something not stained with his own imperfection but likely for its worthiness to be accepted.

Here, whilst there is indeed the false notion that the offering of another can ever take the place of the offering of self, there is also the consciousness of that which does in very truth constitute the supreme obstacle to man's union with God, viz., the fact that sin has not only separated him from the Father, but has crippled his will so that he cannot take the first step in his own restoration—rendered him spiritually incapable of making that self-surrender which God demands.

And so we come to see how Christ fulfils the whole truth of sacrifice, how in Him it is that we find our atonement. For His life, as the writer to the Hebrews saw, is summed up in the words 'I come to do Thy will, O God'; and the Cross is the consummation of His life-long self-oblation, His perfect obedience to the Father's will. 'He offered Himself without spot to God.' And, though we may not regard Him as suffering 'instead of us' in the old and cruder form of the substitution doctrine, yet He

does for us what we could never have done for ourselves; it is most truly in Him alone that we find salvation; for it is only by the inspiration of His Cross and by union with His life that we are enabled to overcome our natural weakness and to make that offering of ourselves as a living sacrifice to God, which is the true end and purpose of our being.

And, if the Cross of Christ thus stands out as the 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice,' it is in the Eucharist above all that we 'offer' or present that sacrifice before God the Father. It has always seemed to the present writer that the objection felt in some quarters to the ancient and world-wide language of the Liturgy about offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice rests upon a misunderstanding of the meaning of the word 'offer.' The sacrificial 'offering' is not the actual slaying of the victim, but the presentation before the Higher Power, however conceived, of the victim already slain. This is clearly marked in the Jewish sacrifices, where the work of the priest does not begin at all until after the animal has been killed (Lev. 1⁴, 5, 4⁴, etc.). It is seen in India in the fact, amongst others, that the animal is sometimes not slain at all but merely laid before the shrine, or its ear pierced and the blood offered. In the same way, in the offering of the Eucharist there is not, and cannot be, any such thought as that the Sacrifice of Calvary is *repeated*, that Christ is again *slain* (though doubtless language has often been used which lent colour to such a notion); but rather we there present before the Father the Sacrifice then once for all offered 'for the sins of the whole world.' As we celebrate the memorial which our Lord has bidden us make, as we recite again the very words He spoke at the Supper and repeat the very acts

which He then did, we bring solemnly to mind once more in the Presence of God the picture of the Body broken and the Blood outpoured 'for many, for the remission of sins'; we praise and adore the Father for that supreme Sacrifice; we pray that its power may go out into the whole world, saving men from the bondage of sin and drawing them into the joy and freedom of the Father's Home by the great appeal of love; and then, by union with Him, our living Lord, we present ourselves also to be a holy and living sacrifice unto God.¹

This surely is a most essential aspect of our Eucharistic worship, and one which India will readily understand and appropriate.

(3) *Ceremonial Worship*.—It will be seen that, in the liturgy which we have put forward, there is a large place given to rich and stately ceremonial.² There are the special vestments appropriated to the highest act of Christian worship.³ There is the stately entrance of the celebrating priest with his attendant ministers and acolytes, and their passage up the church to the Sanctuary, suggesting the reverence and godly fear with which all are to approach the Heavenly Tabernacle. There is the solemn censuring of priest and people and of the whole church, lifting the hearts of the worshippers upwards, and symbolising, as the first prayer of the incense reminds them, the merits of Christ Himself,

¹ I know no more admirable or lucid statement of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist than that contained in Chapters ii. and iii. of *The Eucharistic Life*, referred to above. The whole book is a model of careful and scholarly teaching.

² A detailed description of some of this ceremonial is contained in Appendix II.

³ Cp. Appendix I.

whereby alone we can draw nigh to God. Again the incense rises upwards, the people standing in attentive silence, at the recital of our Lord's own words and deeds in the Gospel, and throughout the central moments of worship from the Sanctus to the end of the Great Intercession. Once again, there is the Salutation of Peace, passing from the priest at the altar down through the church, signifying the mutual love which should be amongst Christian brethren, most of all at this common Love Feast—a thought again expressed in the breaking of the one *chapāṭi*¹ amongst the members of the one Body.² And there is—most moving of all—the solemn prostration of the whole congregation (like that of the Mussulmans in the Great Mosque at Delhi) at the point where the priest calls upon the Holy Spirit to descend upon the Gifts and hallow them.

Now, in giving this place in our liturgy to the outward accompaniments of Eucharistic worship, we do not wish it to be thought that we would place these outward things on the same level of importance as the worship itself or the ideas enshrined in that worship. The priest who celebrates in a mud hut, with only a bare table and a common cup and platter, is just as truly celebrating the Holy Eucharist as if he were in the most stately and well-furnished cathedral. Nevertheless it remains true that, in worship as in life, we cannot wisely ignore the outward. Since God has given us bodies as well as spirits, and set us in a material world, the thought within us will naturally express itself in outward

¹ Cp. Appendix III.

² These two symbols, the Peace and the One Bread, are of special value in a Church which is to be a living witness to the abolition of all caste distinctions and caste prejudices in Christ.

forms, and, conversely, that which reaches us through the bodily senses will affect our spirits. Now the purpose of the outward forms of worship is twofold. On the one hand, there is the desire by the beauty of sound and colour and form, and by reverent demeanour, to give to our feelings of devotion the worthiest expression of which we are capable. On the other hand, the outward expressions of worship react upon our inward feelings; the appeal to eye and ear quickens our devotion; and the actions in which all the members of the congregation join as one body bring home to us, in a vivid manner, our fellowship one with another.

Some degree of outward expression commends itself to all. The strictest Puritan would hardly attempt to pray to God lolling back in his seat in church with his legs crossed, nor does the Quaker despise the hand-shake. The *amount* and *kind* of ceremonial which will most fully express and assist our worship depends on individual temperament; and, in considering the question of ceremonial for the Indian Church, we have to look and see how the Indian temperament, generally and in the broad, expresses itself. We have no right to judge the needs of the Indian soul by our own. We have no right to pronounce *a priori*, 'This ceremony has appealed widely to us in the Anglican Church, therefore it will appeal to them'; or 'This practice has been in use in the Roman Church almost from the first, therefore we must give it to India'; or 'We know from experience that outward ceremonial tends to formalism and the destruction of heart-worship, and human nature is the same all the world over.' Rather we have to ask, 'Does the Indian temperament naturally express itself with much external ceremony? If so, what are

the kinds of outward form which seem to make the deepest appeal ?'

Now the compilers of this liturgy would not for a moment suggest that they have hit upon precisely the best ceremonial for the Indian Church. This must be discovered by Indians for themselves, and only one of us is an Indian. At the same time we had knowledge of how their most ornate and beautiful Eucharistic worship does appeal enormously to the Christians of Malabar ; and we felt justified by our whole experience of Indian life and character, and not least those of the Indian Christians, in including—quite experimentally—in our liturgy a good deal of ceremonial similar to theirs.

Hindu religion, as all know, in its festivals, its processions, its temple worship, its various saṅskāras (sacraments) at the different stages of life, its pilgrimages and purifications and sacrifices, is as full of stately and picturesque ceremonies as that of the Jews. Every religious idea has its outward expression in ritual. All is colour and movement and gesture and speaking symbol. Nor are the Moham-medans far behind in this respect. The Moharram is a rich and stately pageant ; and the worship in the Jama Masjid at Delhi, with its wave-like rhythm of movement passing over the vast assembly of worshippers, is an unforgettable spectacle. The Indian Church will demand that its worship be no less rich in outward expression.

The present writer has had many instances in his experience of how an ornate and dignified service does appeal deeply to Indian Christians. They tell us often that it gives them the sense of true *bhakti*, 'devotion.' I have been present at services of the severe and unadorned type in the Church of

the American (Congregationalist) Mission at Ahmadnagar; and I know that my friends in that Mission (who are well aware of the high respect in which I hold their work, and who have sometimes told me themselves that they think they have something to learn from us of the Church of England in the matter of worship) will not mind my saying that it all seemed to me too redolent of old-world Puritanism, too cold and unemotional for India. Members of their congregation who visit us often speak of the appeal which the warmth and richness of our service makes to their instinct of worship¹; and Sadhu Sunder Singh, the well-known Christian Sannyāsi, declared that he had found at last his ideal house of prayer, when he visited the great church of the Cowley Fathers at Poona.

Of course we must guard against the dangers of unreality and formalism, and it is fear of these which leads so many missionaries to discard all outward helps to worship; but in truth these dangers are not, I believe, peculiar to Churches which have an ornate service. There may be just as much formality at a prayer meeting as at a liturgical form of service, if the heart is not in it; and the stereotyped extempore prayer may be just as unreal as the set prayer which has become a mere form. The prophetic denunciation, we must remember, was not against ritual or ceremonial as such—indeed it would no more have occurred to a Jew, than it does to a Hindu, that you could have corporate worship without it—the de-

¹ N. V. Tilak, the famous Christian poet of Western India, who died in 1919, was connected with the American Mission. He once told me that, when one of the missionaries asked him why their service apparently didn't appeal to the Christians as it should, and what he would do, he replied, 'Give them something after the pattern of the service in the S.P.G. Mission Church!'

nunciation was of worshipping God with the lips but denying Him by an immoral or selfish life. The reason why 'incense is an abomination' is not because it is a piece of ritual, incompatible with spiritual worship, but because *the life does not correspond* to the worship expressed: 'your hands are full of blood.' And for the same reason the 'solemn meeting' comes in for a like condemnation.¹ Our Lord in His great denunciation of the hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees reproves them, not for the ritualism of their worship, in which He often partook, but for the disparity between their profession and their practice.

Whatever, then, be the character of our church services, we have constantly to be inculcating 'worship in spirit and in truth'; and the present writer, who went to India with no particular bias in favour of much ceremonial, has become increasingly certain that a service rich in the outward expression of reverence and godly fear, of thanksgiving and joy, and of warm fellowship in worship, is what is best calculated to arouse and strengthen the instinct of devotion in the Indian heart. The matter is surely one in which we Western missionaries must try to subordinate our own predilections and prejudices to the single consideration of what most deeply meets the need of the Indian Church.

(4) *Various Minor Points.*—There are a number of smaller points in the liturgy here put forth which seem to us likely to be of special value in India.

The first of these is the stress laid on attendance at a service of preparation before communicating.

¹ *Ib.* 1 10-17.

The great majority of Indian Christians are drawn from the less educated classes, and have need of such help in their preparation. The exact form of the service is left to the discretion of the minister; but a prominent place would always be given to self-examination and confession and absolution, which are excluded from the Eucharist itself.

Another feature which should tend to reality of devotion is the Litany at the beginning of the service, in which certain regular petitions are to be offered always, but others added according to the needs of the particular occasion. A place is also found here for thanksgiving.

Again, a common feature of the old liturgies is retained in the 'biddings' of the deacon to the people, *e.g.*, before the Gospel, at the Epiclesis, at the Invitation to Communicate, at the Thanksgiving. Many have found from experience, specially in celebrating for less instructed congregations, that such instructions have to be inserted if the people are to take an intelligent part in the service.

It will be noticed also that the attention of the congregation is kept alert, and their devotion aided, by far more frequent and longer responses than our Anglican rite contains.

Catechumens are carefully provided for. They receive a full measure of instruction by means of the three lections (Old Testament, Epistle, and Gospel), so chosen as to contain some central point of teaching each Sunday, and from the sermon based upon them. A special prayer for them is said before they go out, and no unbaptized or excommunicate person is allowed to remain for 'the prayers of the faithful.'

Other points worth mentioning are the prayer

about the rain and the dews (a matter of such moment in India); the use of standing and prostration as the two Eastern attitudes of worship; and the provision of a special prayer to be said by the deacon as he cleanses the sacred vessels at the end, so that this may always be regarded as a part of the service on no account to be omitted.

5

We are far from claiming that what we have put out is perfect or fully satisfactory as it stands. As is said above, we want only to stimulate thought and discussion, so that practical steps may be taken for the preparation of an Indian Liturgy. We hope, first, that all Indian Christians connected with the Church of England will co-operate in this. If there are those who feel (in spite of what has been said above) that an ornate service is undesirable, much of the outward ceremonial which we have here suggested could be shorn off without affecting the general structure of the liturgy. But we hope, further, that all Indian Christians, irrespective of denomination, will see the desirability of the Indian Church possessing some common liturgical form for at least this one great central service; and we hope that they will set themselves to the task of producing a Eucharistic liturgy which shall be distinctively Indian in character, but at the same time recognisable as of the same family with all other Christian liturgies throughout the world, and in particular related closely with those of the East. For this service which our Lord gave before His death to those men, on whom primarily the building up of His One Church through many lands was to depend, is

after all—and, please God, before many years are past shall be openly seen and known to be—the one great seal and token of the unity of us all in Him. ‘We, being many, are One Body ; for we are all partakers of the One Bread.’

II

THE RELATION OF FREEDOM TO
CATHOLICITY IN LITURGICAL
DEVELOPMENT

BY

MAJOR J. E. G. FESTING, R.E.

THE RELATION OF FREEDOM TO CATHOLICITY IN LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT

1

BEFORE one can seriously consider what type of liturgy will best satisfy the requirements of the Church of the Indians, one must first be quite clear in one's own mind what position that Church will occupy with regard to the remainder of Christendom.

And, in the first place, it may perhaps not be superfluous to emphasise the fact that the constitution of the Indian Church must be such as to give no sanction to the view which conceives of the Church mainly as one department of the State. There are some people who cherish the idea that every nation can have its own national Church, and that the Civil Government can modify the rules and services of that Church to meet the fancied needs of the nation, without any regard to the essential requirements of Catholic Order. Such people would maintain, for instance, that the one and only necessary qualification for membership of the Church of England is membership of the English nation; and that in consequence all English subjects can claim spiritual ministrations from the Church of England.

This idea is far more widespread than many imagine. There are a considerable number of people who have a very vague idea of the accepted doctrines

of the Church of England, and who describe themselves as members of that Church practically because they are English. At present when a British soldier of the Roman Communion dies in India and his own Church refuses him burial, the Government order that the Church of England service shall be read over his body by a layman. At one time a government chaplain of the Church of England could be compelled to read the service himself, but this has now been altered.

Such an idea strikes at the root of the principles of the Catholic Order as taught by St. Paul and all the other early teachers in the Church, and has been the cause of much strife and bitter feeling among Christians in the past.

In the case of a Church that is partially under State control, as the Church of England is, the State claims the right to decide questions not only of rites and ceremonies but also of doctrine and of the qualifications for Church membership. These questions may be decided by persons who do not even profess or call themselves Christians, as well as by persons who belong to other Christian denominations; and the present position of the Church of England is a witness to the fatal disadvantages under which any Church which is subject to State control must labour. The founding of a Church on these lines among the Indians would be little short of a disaster.

The ideal position for the Indian Church would seem to be somewhat like that held by the Episcopal Church in Scotland; that is to say, it must be independent of the Church of England in the same sense that that Church is, and self-governing as far as any branch of the Catholic Church can be. It may be very many years before this ideal can be fully

realised, but it would seem to be a retrograde step to do anything now that may hinder the development of the Indian Church on these lines.

In other words, however much the future Church of India may owe to England, she must be entirely free from every kind of State control, and in all other ways must be an independent branch of the Church Universal.

At the same time, while it is hoped that there will never be any desire, on the part of those responsible for the upbuilding of the Indian Church, to reproduce the Church of England on the not very suitable soil of India, or to do anything that will hinder its free development, yet they must be always on their guard lest they sanction developments which are not in conformity with the principles of the Catholic faith, but which are surrenders to the passing whims or prejudices of the unbalanced elements which are always liable to be present, whether amongst the Indian or English members of the Church. However great may be their zeal for freedom, whether from the trammels of State control or from foreign traditions of a purely local character, it is of still greater importance that they build into the fabric of the growing Church all such matters of belief and practice as belong to the great universal tradition of the Christian heritage.

The Church of India must retain, in a word, both its independence and its union with the rest of Christendom. It must be Catholic and it must be free.

The same twofold principle must guide us in our consideration of the Church's Liturgy. On the one

hand, as it should be considered to be little short of a disaster for any nation to form its own Church regardless of Catholic Order, so it is equally wrong for any branch of the Church to sanction the use of services which do not conform to the requirements of the Catholic Faith, or are indicative of heretical beliefs, even though they do not actually give expression to them.

If the Indian Church is to be a true branch of the Catholic Church, its services must be of such a nature that they can be attended by members of that Church from any part of the world, and none should be able to say that he finds that taking part in the services of the Indian Church implies acceptance of doctrine that is not part of the Catholic Faith.

From the earliest days the Eucharist has always been the central service of the Christian Church; and it will naturally be retained as such in India. A member of some other branch of the Church who may be visiting India will naturally attend the Eucharist, if he attends no other service; and so the Liturgy must be one that will not only cause him no offence but which will assure him that the Indian Church is genuinely Catholic, so that he will be able to feel that he is as really and truly taking part in the Great Service of the Church as if he were in his own country, perhaps thousands of miles away. It must also not be forgotten that there may be a considerable number of Indians for whom the Eucharist will be the one and only service available, and this renders it all the more essential that the language should be such as will show to all that the Indian Church is truly Catholic, and at the same time teach and remind those who take part in the service

what the doctrines and beliefs of the Catholic Church really are, and so keep them true to 'the Faith once delivered to the Saints,' and counteract the ever-existing tendency to fall away into heresy and unbelief.

The Liturgy of the Indian Church is not, therefore, a question that concerns the Indians only, nor is it the property solely of the Indian Church. If the Indian Church is to be a true branch of the whole Catholic Church, it is clear from what has been said that her liturgy must be regarded as the property of that Church, and it must be one, the use of which no Catholic authority could refuse to sanction on doctrinal grounds. It therefore follows that there must be no doctrine expressed or implied in the Liturgy which has been formally condemned, either by the Catholic Church as a whole, or by any of its recognised branches. In addition to this negative requirement, it is also necessary that the main doctrines of the Catholic Faith should be clearly and unequivocally expressed.

But, on the other hand, we must bear in mind the principle of free adaptation. From what has been said in this essay it might perhaps be imagined that the writer is prepared to advocate the adoption of a universal liturgy for the whole Catholic Church. Such is very far from being the case. Even the Church of Rome with its love of uniformity and order does not impose a universal liturgy on all its adherents, still less do we wish to do so. In fact the desire to have a distinct, though Catholic, liturgy for the Indian Church is the main reason why this liturgy has been compiled.

There is also no good reason why any branch of the Church should be debarred from sanctioning the

use of alternative liturgies. The Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church of Scotland contains two totally distinct and widely differing liturgies, and in many Eastern Churches several liturgies are regularly used either according to the Church's season or at the discretion of the bishop or even of the celebrating priest. There is thus ample precedent for the simultaneous use of more than one liturgy in the same Church, and the permissive use of alternate liturgies may be an experience of very great value to those who may in years to come have to consider questions regarding the Liturgy of the Indian Church.

The existing Liturgies of the Catholic Church afford examples of legitimate differences in points of detail. These differences have arisen from several causes, such as the different conditions under which people have lived, the state of their knowledge of the facts of everyday life, the varying modes of expression and thought current among the vast number of people who have in different times and in different places made up the Body of Christ. The prayer for the 'High Court of Parliament,' for instance, could convey very little meaning to an Indian villager who has perhaps never been outside the boundaries of his village, and whose supreme ruler is, for all practical purposes, the local headman. Again, in some parts of the world rain seldom, if ever, falls, and the crops are dependent on water obtained from rivers which may rise hundreds of miles away. A man living in such a place will naturally pray for the prosperity of his crops in a form quite different to that which would be used by a man living in a district where everything depends on sufficient supply of rain at the proper time of year.

Again, among many of the educated Indians who at present constitute a large section of the Indian Church there is a belief that all disease is carried by the air. Science has, of course, told us that this idea is wrong, but it will take a generation or two before these people realise that their long-cherished belief is a mistake, and in the meanwhile it seems far better to allow them to pray for immunity from disease in a form that they can understand and appreciate, than to make them use words that convey no meaning whatever to them, even though they may be more in accord with the known facts of science.

In points of ceremony, too, differences may and do exist. Kissing in the way that it is done by English people is not an oriental form of greeting, and therefore, though the 'kiss of peace' is retained in all Eastern liturgies, a form of greeting which is intelligible to the people takes the place of the actual kiss.

These are merely illustrations of how a liturgy, whilst retaining a certain general uniformity in all lands, may be adapted to local and particular needs; but, as this point is dealt with in the first essay, it need not be further emphasised here. The main point upon which the writer of the present essay would lay stress is that, if the Indian Church desires, as it must surely desire, to have its place as an integral part of the Church Universal, in communion with all other branches of that Church in other lands, it is a matter of high importance that the liturgy it eventually adopts should be one which possesses all the essential features of the ancient liturgies of Christendom, and be seen, like them, to conform to the one primitive and universal norm of Eucharistic worship.

III

THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE AND THE
LITURGY OF ST. JAMES

BY

EDWARD C. RATCLIFF

SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE AND THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES

It has ever been the ideal of the Church of England that her public liturgy should be 'understood of the people,' and to this end it has always been her care to provide her sons, to whatever race or people they belong, with services in their native tongue 'that they may be thereby edified.' But understanding and edification depend not only on the use of the vernacular. If a form of service is fully to satisfy this ideal, its prayers must correspond to the needs of the worshippers; the language of its prayers and its expressions of devotion must be in harmony with their ideas of reverence and worship; its parts must be so arranged that the meaning and significance of the service may be clear to all; and it must be of such a nature that it is as much a means of instruction as an act of worship. In short, the liturgy of the worshippers must be as much their own as the language in which they say it. Recent articles and discussions in *The East and West* have shown that it is exactly in this respect that the Book of Common Prayer, and in particular its Service of Holy Communion, has failed to satisfy the needs of the peoples of China and Japan; and from the first essay in this book the reader will have learnt that it equally fails to satisfy the needs of those Indian Christians who are bound to use it. That the remedy for this

defect is to be found in the liturgies of the Eastern Churches is no new suggestion. It is, perhaps, too obvious to be new; for by their very nature these liturgies fulfil the conditions required by understanding and edification. Unlike the Prayer Book they have not been hampered by their history: The Churches which use them have not been compelled, as our own Church has been compelled, 'to keep the mean between two extremes,' and Eastern liturgies are therefore the result of the growth of ordered devotion throughout the centuries, and embody the ideal of Christian worship as it has been conceived by the Oriental mind. Most conspicuous among them is, perhaps, the Syriac Liturgy of St. James. The great beauty of this liturgy, and its arrangement, commend it as fitted in every way to serve as a model for a liturgy for Indian Christians, and it has the additional interest of having been for the last two and a half centuries in use in the Syrian Jacobite Church of Malabar—the one truly Indian Church, round which, we may well hope, the union of Indian Christians may some day take place.

1

Before passing on to the Liturgy of St. James itself, it may be well to call to mind something of the details and general arrangement of the Eucharistic Office, the *λειτουργία* or Public Worship 'par excellence' of the early Church. From the beginning of the fifth century onwards, we find it composed of two distinct parts: the Pro-anaphora and Anaphora in the East, and the Ordinary and Canon in the West. These parts were originally separate and independent of each other. From St. Justin Martyr, whose

description of the liturgy as celebrated at Rome in his day¹ is the earliest in existence, we learn that the former consisted of:

- (i) Lessons from the 'Memoirs of the Apostles' or from the Prophets, read 'as long as time allows,'
- (ii) A sermon by the officiant on what had been read, and
- (iii) Prayers,

and was ordinarily a 'Morning Prayer' preliminary to the Eucharist. Tertullian² supplies us with similar evidence as to the elements of this service in his time, with the additional mention of psalms; and the long liturgical passage in Chapters 59-61 of St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians is in all probability representative of the prayers of early days both in its general style and in the scope of its intercession. When the Eucharist was preceded by some other service, such as a baptism (as in St. Justin's account³) or the consecration of a bishop (as in the First Church Order), this preliminary office seems to have been omitted as the celebration follows immediately, and even at the time of the 'Peregrinatio Aetheriae,' the two services were considered at Jerusalem to be so distinct from each other that the Eucharist was celebrated in a different church from that in which the preliminary office had been said. A comparison of this office with that prescribed by the Mishnah for Sabbath mornings in the synagogue reveals a resemblance so close that we may reasonably conclude that the Christian service is based upon the Jewish, and in view of the fact that the

¹ First Apology, lxxvii. 3-5.

² De Anima, 9.

³ First Apology, lxxv. 1.

earliest converts to Christianity were Jewish and were accustomed to the service of the synagogue, it is but natural that they should have adapted to their needs the only form of worship which they knew.

Of the Eucharist itself, the germ is, of course, to be found in the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper. Round the fixed nucleus of thanksgiving, blessing of the bread and wine, and distribution of them to those present in communion, other elements gradually gathered. That development had started by the second century we know from St. Justin Martyr. From his first Apology and his Dialogue with Trypho, we learn that the service then consisted of:

- (i) Kiss of Peace.
- (ii) The bringing of bread, wine, and water to the officiant.
- (iii) Extempore prayer by the officiant, together with thanksgivings for the creation of the world for man's sake, for deliverance from evil, and for the defeat of the powers of evil through our Lord's Passion, concluding with
- (iv) An Anamnesis, or Memorial of the Passion of our Lord, to which the people answer 'Amen,' and
- (v) Communion of the people under both kinds administered by the deacons.

This, both in outline and arrangement, is doubtless representative of contemporary use, in the East as well as in the West. The prayer mentioned in connection with the thanksgivings is perhaps a reference to the General Intercession for the Christian Community which forms part of the Eucharistic Prayer in all liturgies. St. Justin says nothing about a prayer of thanksgiving after Communion,

but this together with a dismissal of the congregation was added at an early date. These elements, though, of course, with developments and modifications, form the structure of the anaphoras which we find in the more fully developed liturgies of later days.

With regard to the form of consecration, there seems to have been some diversity of use in the early Church. St. Justin tells us nothing definite about it. He speaks only of τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν¹—language of such uncertain meaning that we cannot tell whether 'the food were made Eucharist' by the Words of Institution; by the Prayer used by our Lord at the Institution, which is generally thought to have been an adaptation of the Jewish grace at meals; by an Invocation of the Logos; or by the Lord's Prayer, all of which uses, with the possible exception of the last,² were known in the earlier days of the Church. We find also Invocations of the Trinity and of the Holy Spirit. These, however, are prayers for the granting of grace to the communicants rather than for a change of the elements, and the consecration depends not upon any particular form, but upon the Eucharistic Prayer as a whole. In the course of time the Invocation of the Holy Spirit prevailed over all other uses. By the middle of the fourth century it had developed at Antioch into an explicit prayer for the change of the bread and the wine into the Body and Blood of our Lord, perhaps because it had come to be believed that the operation of the Holy Spirit in the consecra-

¹ First Apology, lxvi. 2.

² The Epistle of St. Gregory the Great to John of Syracuse is the only evidence for this. But it is both possible and probable that the saint made a mistake and that the 'oratio dominica,' which, he says, the Apostles were accustomed to use in consecrating, refers, not to the 'Our Father,' but to the prayer which our Lord used at the Institution.

tion of the Eucharist was of the same nature as His operation in the Incarnation. This form of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, or Epiclesis, spread to all rites save the East Syrian, and without it the consecration is not regarded by the Eastern Churches as having been effected. At Rome, however, the Epiclesis itself fell out of use, and from the sixth century onwards the moment of consecration came to be connected in the West with our Lord's Words of Institution, or rather of Administration, 'This is my Body : this is my Blood.'

By the beginning of the fifth century, the preliminary service and the Eucharist had been welded into one. The former had become the Prayers of the Catechumens which penitents, demoniacs, those under instruction for baptism, and non-Christians generally were allowed to attend. The latter was transformed into the Prayers of the Faithful, and was closed to all but baptized Christians. This clearly marked division remains in all Eastern liturgies to the present day, and traces of it are still to be found in the Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic rites of the West. With the writing down of the Liturgy, its elements lost their old variable character, and out of the crystallisation of prayer and ceremony arose the four Parent Rites of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Gaul, from one of which in turn every other liturgy is derived. In the West, liturgical development pursued lines which are difficult to follow, and about which there is much controversy. In the East, it was more natural, and with the exception of the East Syrian, Eastern liturgies seem to have developed along uniform lines. This makes it possible for us to form a general idea of liturgical development in the East from the time of St. Justin's account onwards.

Additions and modifications were, of course, made to both parts of the service as time went on. The lessons, varying originally in number, became fixed, and were terminated always by an Epistle and Gospel. In some liturgies subsequent modification left only the last two. Prayers for, and solemn dismissals of, the catechumens and others privileged to be present at the Pro-anaphora were introduced, in the fourth century, as a conclusion of the first part of the service; and the prayers, which, in the time of St. Justin, had stood at the end of the Pro-anaphora, were drawn to the beginning of the Prayers of the Faithful. In the fourth century these prayers developed at Antioch into a number of biddings said by the deacon and answered by the people with *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, 'Lord, have mercy'—a form which eventually passed to most other Eastern rites. After the Prayers came the Kiss of Peace and the Offertory, which, in turn, were followed by the Eucharistic Prayer or Anaphora proper. From the fourth century we find the Anaphora always introduced by a blessing, some form of 2 Cor. xiii. 14, or 'The Lord be with you,' and some such formula as 'Lift up your hearts' and 'Let us give thanks unto our Lord God' with their responses. Then follows the Preface—or what in the East corresponds to the Preface—with the singing of the Sanctus by the people. The Eucharistic Prayer continues, and, in all rites save the East Syrian, includes a recital of the Institution, followed by an Anamnesis and an Epiclesis for the consecration of the 'Gifts,' as the bread and wine came to be called. The position of the Great Intercession for the living and departed varies according to the rites. In the Syrian and Byzantine rites it follows the Epiclesis, in the Alex-

andrine it occurs in the Preface ; but it is always in close connection with the Eucharistic Prayer. At the end of this Prayer come the Fraction or Breaking of the Bread, in some rites followed, in others preceded, by the Lord's Prayer with its Embolism or expansion of the last clause, and the blessing of the people before Communion. The Communion itself is prefaced by an elevation of the Blessed Sacrament, accompanied by the formula *τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, 'Holy things to holy persons,' said by the celebrant, and a response by the people. A thanksgiving after Communion follows, and the service is concluded by a dismissal of the congregation. Subsequent developments were the removal of the preparation and offering of the bread and wine from their position in the Liturgy to one before its commencement, and the ceremony, called the Great Entrance, of carrying them from the credence table to the altar, at the beginning of the Prayers of the Faithful. The Great Entrance, however, is not common to all Eastern liturgies, and, save the East Syrian, those which did not adopt it placed the elements upon the altar during the Service of Preparation, or Proskomide. The Creed, also, is a later addition, dating, says Brightman,¹ from the fifth or sixth centuries, and is usually associated with the Kiss of Peace at the beginning of the Prayers of the Faithful. There were, of course, many other developments and modifications, both of arrangement and ceremonial, but in spite of the many differences among them, we find the same general outline in all the four Eastern rites of Antioch, Alexandria, East Syria, and Constantinople.

¹ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 574.

2

To the oldest of these four groups, viz., the Antiochene, belongs the Liturgy of St. James. Originally the local use of the Church of Jerusalem—hence the ascription of its composition to St. James, the brother of our Lord, traditionally the first bishop of the Holy City—it passed to Antioch, displaced the parent Antiochene Liturgy, and was adopted in its stead. It at length spread to the rest of the Patriarchate, and itself became the source of other rites, most notable among which is that of Constantinople. Though the earliest mention of the Liturgy by name occurs in Canon 32 of the Quinisextine Council (692), it is considerably older than the seventh century. St. Jerome, who died at Bethlehem in 420, in his treatise against Pelagius¹ makes a quotation from the Memento of the Departed in the Great Intercession, and the fact of the Liturgy being used both by the Melkites or Orthodox and by the Jacobites goes to show that it was considered to be of some antiquity at the time of the Monophysite Schism in the fifth century. The oldest MS., however, in which the Greek text is contained is no earlier than the eighth century, and the oldest Syriac MSS. of the Liturgy, or of portions of it, date from the same period.

Though we are not left without information with regard to the liturgical use of Palestine between the fourth and eighth centuries, there is not sufficient material, especially of a later date, for us to arrive at any complete history of the Rite of St. James. In

¹ Adv. Pelag. ii. 23. 'Sacerdotum quotidie ora concelebrant ὁ μόνος ἱναμάρτητος quod in lingua nostra dicitur "qui solus est sine peccato."'

general outline it is in agreement with the earliest Antiochene Liturgy known to us (that in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions commonly called the Clementine Liturgy¹), and bears the characteristic mark of the Antiochene family—the placing of the Great Intercession after the Epiclesis. The first petition of the Great Intercession ‘We offer to Thee, O Lord, for Thy holy places which Thou hast glorified by the divine appearance of Thy Christ and by the coming of Thine All-Holy Spirit, specially for the holy and glorious Sion, Mother of all Churches’ indicates that the Liturgy was originally composed for use at Jerusalem, and a prayer, at the end of the litany between the Epistle and Gospel, for the uplifting of ‘The horn of the Christians by the power of the honourable and quickening cross,’ seemingly a reference to the discovery of the Cross by the Empress Helena, shows that the Liturgy had not taken its present form before 326. Other references—such as to our Lord as ‘The Coal of two Natures,’ and to the Blessed Virgin Mary as ‘Theotokos’—enable us to fix dates before which the prayers containing them could not have assumed the form in which they have come down to us. The compilation of the main part of the Liturgy had, however, been completed by the second half of the fifth century as the ‘Annaphura’ (Anaphora) of Syriac St. James, which the Monophysites continued to use after the Schism, differs but little from the corresponding part of the Greek Liturgy. After the Monophysite Schism, the older, the Greek, form was used mostly by the Orthodox, the Syriac by the Monophysites. About the end of the sixth century or early in the seventh, the Orthodox made several Byzantine addi-

¹ Printed in Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 3-27.

tions to their Greek version, thereby giving it more or less the form in which we have it now. The Greek Liturgy of St. James, then, seems to have been in a state of gradual formation before the fourth century, to have been crystallised in the fourth century, and to have received a number of minor additions subsequently. It remained in use among the Orthodox until the thirteenth century, but was then abandoned in favour of the Byzantine rite. It has not, however, been wholly discontinued. The Orthodox use it once a year, on the Feast of St. James (October 23), at Zante; and in 1900 it was revived at Jerusalem and celebrated on the Sunday after Christmas Day.

It is, of course, not known when the Liturgy was first translated into Syriac, but the need of such a translation for the benefit of villagers and country-people who were not acquainted with Greek would early have arisen. Aetheria tells us that in the Greek Services of the Jerusalem of her day it was necessary to translate the lessons and sermons into Syriac '*propter populum ut semper discant.*'¹ Up to the fifth century the history of Syriac St. James is practically that of the Greek Liturgy, but, after the Monophysite Schism, the Syriac Liturgy became, as has been mentioned above, almost exclusively the property of the Monophysites, and so has a history of its own. In its present form it is divided into two parts, the *Ordo Communis* and the *Anaphora*. The former consists of all from the beginning of the Liturgy to the *Anaphora* and the *Final Dismissal*, the latter of all between the *Kiss of Peace* and the *Prayer before the Dismissal*. The former is used on

¹ *Peregrinatio, Silviae*, 73.

all occasions, but in place of the latter any one of the many alternative anaphoras, which are all modelled on that of St. James, and are a special feature of Jacobite use, may be substituted. One of these is a shortened form of the Anaphora of St. James, traditionally ascribed to Gregory, 'Maphrian of the East,' better known as Bar-Hebræus or Abu'lfaraj, who died in 1286. In practice very few of the alternatives are ever used; but, as the clergy are forbidden by canon to abbreviate, or to omit anything from, the Liturgy, they sometimes use one or other of the shorter anaphoras, more especially shorter St. James or that attributed to Dionysius Bar Şalibî, Bishop of Amid, who died in 1171.

3

A comparison of the present forms of the Greek and Syriac Liturgies of St. James with that in the Eighth Book of Apostolic Constitutions reveals a considerable development on the old Antiochene use. The Clementine Liturgy, though itself probably never used, and, in the view of Brightman and many others, showing manifest traces of the compiler's hand in the text of its prayers, is nevertheless representative of Antiochene liturgical use in the fourth century, and is therefore of great value to us as a starting-point in the history of the Rite of St. James. This development will be more easily seen in the following table, in which the three liturgies are analysed in parallel columns :—

<p>The Clementine Liturgy.</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Catechumens.</i>)</p> <p>Lections from the Old Testament.</p> <p>Lections from the Epistles.</p> <p>Lecture from the Acts of the Apostles.</p> <p>Prayers for, and Dismissals of, Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents.</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Faithful.</i>)</p> <p>Diaconal Litany of the Faithful.</p> <p>Prayer for the People said by the bishop.</p>	<p>The Greek Liturgy of St. James.</p> <p>The Proskomide, and preliminary office [Enarkis].</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Catechumens.</i>)</p> <p>Entrance hymn (ὁ πορεύων Ἰός) and prayer said by the priest.</p> <p>Diaconal Litany.</p> <p>The Trisagion.²</p> <p>The Antiphon before the Epistle.</p> <p>The Epistle.</p> <p>The Alleluia.</p> <p>Diaconal Litany and prayer said secretly by the priest.</p> <p>The Gospel.</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Faithful.</i>)</p> <p>Diaconal Litany of the Faithful.</p> <p>Prayer for the worthy celebration of the mysteries said by the priest.</p> <p>Short Dismissal of the Catechumens, Uninitiated, etc., said by the deacon.</p> <p>(The Great Entrance). Prayer of the Incense said by the priest.</p> <p>Cherubic Hymn sung by the choir, and prayer said by the priest.</p> <p>The Creed.</p>	<p>The Syrian Liturgy of St. James.</p> <p>The Preparation and Vesting of the Celebrant, and the Proskomide.</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Catechumens.</i>)</p> <p>Prumyun and Sedro.¹</p> <p>Censing.</p> <p>Lections from the Old Testament.</p> <p>The Responsory of Mar Severus.</p> <p>The Trisagion 3 (3 times).</p> <p>Lecture from the Acts of the Apostles, or from a Catholic Epistle.</p> <p>The Epistle.</p> <p>The Alleluia.</p> <p>Diaconal Bidding and prayer said by the priest.</p> <p>The Gospel.</p> <p>(<i>The Prayers of the Faithful.</i>)</p> <p>Sedro of the Entrance said by the priest.</p> <p>Censing.</p> <p>The Creed.</p> <p>The priest washes his hands, and says the Prayer of the Lavatory for the worthy celebration of the mysteries.</p> <p>Prayer for Forgiveness said by the priest.</p>
--	---	--

¹ A long prayer consisting of a number of chaureable petitions set in a fixed framework, usually of psalm verses, and preceded by a prumyun (προεύμω) or introduction.

² The Hymn, 'Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us.'

³ With the additional clause, 'Thou who wast crucified for us,' inserted before 'Have mercy upon us' by Peter the Fuller, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch from about 470 to 488.

The Clementine Liturgy.
 The Kiss of Peace.
 The priests wash their hands.
 Second and shorter set of Dismissals.
 The Offertory.

(*The Anaphora.*)

Blessing, 'Lift up your mind,' 'Let us give thanks,' etc.
 Preface by the priest, and the Sanctus by the people.
 Prayer of Institution.
 The Anamnesis.

The Epiclesis.
 The Great Intercession.
 The Blessing.

Diaconal Litany and Prayer of Inclination.
 The Elevation, and 'Holy things for holy persons.'
 The Communion.
 The Thanksgiving.
 Prayer of Inclination.

The Dismissal.

The Greek Liturgy of St. James.
 The Kiss of Peace.
 The Prayer of Inclination.

Diaconal Litany and Prayer of the Veil said by the priest.

(*The Anaphora.*)

Blessing, 'Lift up your minds and hearts,' 'Let us give thanks,' etc.
 Preface by the priest and Sanctus by the people.
 Prayer of Institution.
 The Anamnesis.

The Epiclesis.
 The Great Intercession.

Diaconal Litany, and Prayer said by the priest.

The Lord's Prayer.
 Prayer of Inclination, and the Blessing.
 The Fraction, etc.

The Elevation, and 'Holy things for holy persons.'
 The Communion.
 Short Diaconal Litany, and Thanksgiving said by the priest.
 Prayer of Inclination.

The Dismissal.

Recessional prayers by the priest and deacon.

Prayers in the Sacristy.

The Syriac Liturgy of St. James.
 The Kiss of Peace.
 The Prayer of Inclination.

The Prayer of the Veil.

(*The Anaphora.*)

Blessing, 'Lift up your minds and hearts,' 'Let us give thanks,' etc.
 Preface by the priest, and Sanctus by the people.

Prayer of Institution.

Short Anamnesis said by the people, and the full Anamnesis said by the priest.

The Epiclesis.
 The Great Intercession.

The Blessing.

The Fraction, Consignation, and Commixture. Kathuliki said, meanwhile, by the deacon.

The Lord's Prayer.
 Prayer of Inclination, and Blessing.

The Elevation, and 'Holy things for holy persons.'

The Communion.

The Thanksgiving.

Prayer of Inclination.
 Prayer before the Dismissal.

The Dismissal.

The Ablutions, etc.

That Greek St. James has been affected by Byzantine influence will be seen at once. The removal of the Offertory Act from the Prayers of the Faithful, and the transformation of it into a Proskomide are a Byzantine feature. The Entrance Anthem, 'O Only-begotten Son,' is a Byzantine composition of the latter part of the sixth century. The Trisagion is of Byzantine origin, probably inserted into the Byzantine Liturgy, thinks Brightman,¹ in the pontificate of St. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 434 to 446. The Cherubic Hymn, 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence,' sung at the Great Entrance, is from the Byzantine proper of Easter Eve, and is said to have been written by the Emperor Justin II. The prayer said by the priest at the same time is taken from the Byzantine Proskomide. The Great Entrance, also, seems to be a Byzantine insertion. We should naturally expect to find it after the Kiss of Peace, where once stood the Offertory Act, of which the Great Entrance was originally part and of which the Prayer of the Veil seems to be the remains; but it occupies instead the position occupied by the Great Entrance in the Byzantine Rite. There is, of course, no Great Entrance in the Clementine Liturgy. The prayers around the Great Entrance, too, seem to be out of order. We do not expect to find a prayer for the worthy celebration of the Liturgy, prefaced by the diaconal bidding which elsewhere precedes a Prayer of Inclination; and the Prayer of Inclination is out of place after the Kiss of Peace and before the Prayer of the Veil. The position of the Dismissals of the Catechumens and Uninitiated, also, is strange. The Clementine Liturgy has an elaborate set after

¹ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 531-39.

the Lections, representative of the elaborate forms introduced into the Liturgy in the fourth century, and another shorter set after the Kiss of Peace. The latter, thinks Brightman,¹ belongs to an earlier stratum than the fourth century, and we should more naturally look to find it, not after, but before, the Kiss of Peace, where a similar short dismissal once stood in the Alexandrine Rite. Greek St. James has, if it ever had them, lost the dismissals after the Lections, and retained a shorter set, similar to the second set in the Clementine Liturgy. It is not improbable that the dislocation was caused by the insertion of the Great Entrance. It is possible that the prayer for the worthy celebration of the Liturgy once stood in the present position of the Prayer of Inclination, *i.e.* before the beginning of the sacrificial part of the Liturgy; and that the Prayer of Inclination, which looks rather like an altered form of a prayer for catechumens, once stood in the present position of the prayer for the worthy celebration of the Liturgy, *i.e.* before the Dismissals of the Catechumens and Uninitiated. In the Byzantine Rite, the Great Entrance is regarded as the beginning of the sacrificial part of the service, and if, as is suggested, the Great Entrance is a later introduction into Greek St. James, the prayer for the worthy celebration might well have been moved from a place before the Offertory to one before the Great Entrance; and the Prayer for the Blessing of the Catechumens, which gradually became unnecessary, and before the seventh century had disappeared from most liturgies, might well have been placed, in a form altered, of course, to suit its new position, where the former prayer had once stood in order to

¹ *Ibid.*, xliv. 17 and 575, 'Dismissal.'

fill the gap. Such dislocations are not unknown in the history of the Liturgy. The Canon of the Roman Mass is witness of that.

Unfortunately, Syriac St. James is of little or no help to us in this question. The Monophysites did not leave it as they had it at the Schism. In the seventh century James of Edessa (633-708) revised the Syriac Anaphora of St. James as he knew it, and brought it into close agreement with the text of the Greek Anaphora of his time. In his Epistle to Thomas the Presbyter¹ he has left us an account of the celebration of the Liturgy. Of the Prayers of the Catechumens he tells us but little; he mentions the Lections from the Old and New Testaments, and says that they were once followed by prayers for, and dismissals of, hearers, demoniacs, and penitents, 'but all these things have now vanished from the Church, albeit sometimes the deacons make mention of them, exclaiming after the ancient custom.' There is no sedro, censing prayer, or lavatory prayer, but the 'Annaphura' begins immediately, and, with the exception of the Creed, which in James's time was said before the Prayer of the Peace, the order of its parts is identical with that in Brightman. A commentary on the Liturgy,² attributed to George, Bishop of the Monophysite Arab tribes from 686 to 724, and a friend of James of Edessa, gives us some further information. It speaks of a 'service of the psalm before the mysteries'; the Trisagion; the censing before the peace; and the washing of the priest's hands; and says that the Book of Life,

¹ Translated in Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 490-94.

² Edited and translated by Dom R. H. Conolly and H. W. Codrington, B.A., in *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*. Text and Translation Society, 1913.

which 'shews the memorial of the saints' (*i.e.* the diptychs of the dead), is read before the consecration of the mysteries. The commentary, however, omits all mention of the main part of the Anaphora, and passes suddenly from the departure of the energumens and penitents to the Lord's Prayer. Neither of these writers seem to know anything of a Great Entrance in Jacobite use. But in the detailed exposition of the Liturgy written by Moses Bar Kēphā,¹ Bishop of Bēth Rammān, Bēth Kiyōnāyā, and Mosul from about 863 to the time of his death in 903, we find mention of a ceremony which corresponds to the Great Entrance. Bar Kēphā, after describing the Dismissals, says that the 'mysteries go forth from the altar, go round the body of the church (haiklā), and return to the altar.' Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, who died in 1171, speaks of the same ceremony in his exposition of the Liturgy. 'This,' says Dr. Adrian Fortescue,² 'seems a rather meaningless imitation of the Byzantine Great Entrance,' as it is evident from the text that the elements have already been placed on the altar, in accordance with customary Jacobite use, and are not being brought from a credence table. It would seem, therefore, that the Great Entrance is a Byzantine addition to the Liturgy of St. James. It is probable that the Orthodox adopted it, and made a rearrangement of their prayers to suit it, some time in the sixth century. This rearrangement would not then have affected the Syriac version of the Liturgy, but, when in the seventh century James of Edessa made a

¹ Edited and translated by Dom R. H. Conolly and Mr. H. W. Codrington in *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*. Text and Translation Society, 1913.

² *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 348, note 6.

‘Greek revision’ of the Anaphora of the Syriac version of the time, he would have adopted the arrangement of the corresponding part—the prayer before the Kiss of Peace to the end—of the Greek form of the Liturgy. Hence, though in his Epistle to Thomas the Presbyter James of Edessa makes no mention of a Great Entrance, he nevertheless places the Prayer of Inclination in the awkward position between the Prayer of the Peace and the Prayer of the Veil, and this position it retains in the texts of the present day.

Though the Anaphora has remained practically unchanged, save for a few minor details, since the time of James of Edessa, this has not been the case with the Ordo Communis of Syriac St. James. Bar Kēphā tells us that, after the Gospel, the deacon made a proclamation, ‘urging the people to offer petition and supplication to God the Word.’ Bar Šalibī speaks of the same thing, calling it a litany. Whatever this may have been—Dom Conolly¹ thinks that it was not a diaconal litany, but ‘a substitute for a sermon on the Gospel, corresponding to the turgāmā (*i.e.* interpretation), after the Gospel mentioned by mediæval historian commentators’—it has left no trace in the present form of the Liturgy. The Dismissals, which followed it, and the formula of which, according to Bar Kēphā, was almost identical with that of the Dismissals in Greek St. James, have disappeared. The Great Entrance ceremony has fallen out of use. The ‘Book of Life’ is no longer read after the Kiss of Peace. And the Lavatory, or washing of the priest’s hands, which Bar Kēphā mentions as preceding the Prayer of Inclination (and which, therefore, before the Prayer

¹ *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, p. 30, note 2.

of Inclination had taken its present place would immediately have preceded the old Offertory Prayer of the Veil, as it precedes the Offertory in the Clementine Liturgy), has been removed to a position after the Creed, and is now accompanied by a prayer. At the same time, a number of additions have been made. The sedros, censing prayers, and responsories do not seem to be known to James of Edessa, George of the Arabs, or Moses Bar Kēphā; and additions have been made to the Proskomide before, and to the Ablution Prayers after, the celebration of the Liturgy. A few additions have also been made to the Anaphora itself. The deacon's bidding, 'How fearful is this time,' etc., said before the Epiclesis, is a later insertion. Bar Kēphā seems to know only 'Stand ye in silence and fear.' The Fraction Prayers and some of the Communion Prayers also belong to a later date. The Dismissal, too, has been altered. In the time of James of Edessa, it was said by the deacon. It is now said by the priest, in a rather elaborate form, and is preceded by a prayer for the blessing of the people, which, in view of the Prayer of Inclination immediately before it, is hardly necessary.

The Eucharistic Prayer, or Anaphora proper, the oldest and least changed part of the Liturgy, is perhaps unequalled in order and beauty by the Eucharistic Prayer of any other liturgy. It begins with a blessing, 'The Love of God the Father,' etc., 'Let us lift up our hearts and minds,' and 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord.' The Preface follows, connecting the worship of the people with the worship of the whole universe, of the Saints, and of the Angels, of the Cherubim and of the Seraphim, who ceaselessly sing the 'Holy, holy, holy.' The people sing the Sanctus.

The priest resumes the prayer, and taking up the 'Holy' of the Angels, declares the holiness of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in the Divine dealings with mankind. He 'commemorates the whole scope of the grace of God'¹; the creation; the dispensation for man's redemption, after the Fall, in the law and the prophets; and finally the dispensation of the Incarnation, and our Lord's redemptive work on earth, of which the Institution of the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, 'for the remission of sins and for life everlasting,' is part. Following the words, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' the people take their part in making the memorial, and the priest continues with the Anamnesis, commemorating the Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Session of our Lord in majesty at the right hand of the Father, together with His second Coming to judge the world. He makes the oblation of the gifts, and offers thanks and praise 'for all things, and because of all things,' to which the people respond with a short formula of praise. The deacon then warns the people of the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the priest proceeds with the Epiclesis, praying the Holy Spirit to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of our Lord, that they may sanctify those who shall partake of them. The Great Intercession—the pleading of the sacrifice on behalf of all men—follows. Mention is made of the Church, the clergy, all in adversity, the crops, the congregation, and the king and queen. The Saints and the Departed are commemorated. Prayer, in which the people join, is made for the latter, and the Great Intercession concludes with a petition for the 'Christian and sinless end' of those who offer it,

¹ James of Edessa to Thomas the Presbyter.

‘that in this, as in all things, thine all-honourable and blessed name may be glorified and extolled, with the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of thine all-holy and quickening Spirit, now, and ever, and throughout the ages.’ The priest then blesses the people and makes the Fraction, the deacon, meantime, leading the devotions of the people, and summing up the Great Intercession in a prayer called the *Kathūlikī*. This done the ‘Action’ is closed with the Lord’s Prayer said by priest and people together. The beauty of this Anaphora, or ‘*Qūrābhō*’ as the Jacobites call it, and its sequence of thought need no comment. It is one of the most sublime prayers in Christendom.

4

The Syriac Liturgy of St. James has been in use in Malabar since 1665, at which date the majority of the formerly Nestorian Christians of St. Thomas, refusing to be united to the Roman Church, came into communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.¹ Before that, their liturgy had been the East Syrian Rite of SS. Adai and Mari. The form of Syriac St. James in use in Malabar is the *Liturgia Minor*—the *Ordo Communis* and the shortened Anaphora mentioned in a preceding paragraph, and the text of it is to be found in two books, the *Kethābhō deTeksō deQūrābhō*, printed and published at the Mar Julius Press, Pampakkuda, Travancore, in 1911; and the *Kethābhō deTeshmeshtō deQūrābhō*,

¹ The story of this strange change is to be found in *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, by G. B. Howard, Oxford, 1864; in *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, by W. J. Richards, London, G. Allen, 1908; and (from the Roman point of view) in *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, by Adrian Fortescue, London, Catholic Truth Society, 1913.

printed and published also at Pampakkuda in 1902. The first of these contains the priest's part of the Liturgy, together with the alternative anaphoras of Mar Dionysius (Bar Ṣalibī); of St. John Chrysostom; of St. John the Evangelist; of Mar Matthew, the Shepherd; of St. Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch; of St. Julius, Bishop of Rome; and of Mar Xystus, Patriarch of Rome. A number of extra sedros are added at the end. The latter contains the deacon's part of the Liturgy; together with Epistles from St. Paul for a week; anthems, special anthems and diptychs for festivals; hymns at processions; and an 'Order for the Supplication of the Mother of God.' The last is stated to have been translated from Arabic into Syriac by Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, when he visited Malabar in 1875.

The Malabar text is in the main identical with the Ordo Communis as printed in Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, and with the shortened Anaphora as translated by Renaudot. As may be expected, however, it differs from these in several particulars. These differences, though unimportant in themselves, are not unworthy of notice. The diaconal biddings are, in almost all cases, larger and more elaborate than those in Brightman and Renaudot. The Vesting of the Celebrant follows, and not, as in Brightman, precedes the Prothesis. The Trisagion, the Lord's Prayer, and the Nicene Creed are said together immediately before the Old Testament Lections, in addition to their recitation in the normal course of the service. Anthems (bāthi), varying according to the fast or feast, are sung after the Gospel; and similar anthems are sung, on feasts of our Lord only, after the Nicene Creed. After

the Prayer of the Veil, as he removes the veil from the vessels, the priest is directed to say, 'Thou art the flint rock that shed forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel: Thou art the flint rock that was set against the tomb of our Saviour.' This is wanting in Renaudot. The form of the *Sursum corda* differs slightly from that given by Renaudot—'The thoughts, the minds, and the hearts of us all be now on high where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.' The *Sancta sanctis* is rather different from the form given by Brightman. The priest says, 'The holy things are given to the holy and pure'; to which the people respond, 'There is none holy save one holy Father, one holy Son, and one holy Spirit, Amen. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the living and holy Spirit, Who are one throughout the ages.' The form of 'The one holy Father be with us' is also slightly different. The Words of Administration are the same for all, and do not differ as the communicants may be clerical or lay, as in Brightman. The people are directed to say a short thanksgiving, which is wanting in Brightman, before the Prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion; and the Dismissal of the Faithful at the end of the service is preceded by a long 'Seal' (*ḥuthāmō*) or Prayer of Blessing, and by an Anthem of the Seal sung by the people, which varies with fasts, feasts, and Sundays. The form of the Dismissal itself is the same as that given by Brightman, with the addition at the end, 'Depart in peace, glad and rejoicing, and pray for me.'

The Anthem after the Gospel is interesting. No other text seems to know it. It may be a survival of the anthem which was sung after the Gospel when the Syrian Church in Malabar used the Nestorian

Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari. The address to the Veil, 'Thou art the flint rock, etc.' also is curious. Bar Kēphā in his commentary likens the veil to the stone at the door of our Lord's tomb, and it would seem that the address has grown out of some such mystical interpretation as this.

The Liturgy is celebrated with a great deal of impressive ceremonial, much of which is Indian. The Anaphora of St. James is used on Festivals of our Lord, and at Ordinations; 'and it is the Qūrbānō which the priest offers for the first time.' At other times an alternative Anaphora may be used at the discretion of the celebrant. The sermon is preached (of course in Malayalam, the vernacular) at the end of the celebration, and, when it is finished, the Blessed Bread is distributed and eaten. Though the language is Syriac, with which few outside the ranks of the clergy are acquainted, the worshippers fully understand the meaning of the service, to which they are largely helped by the symbolical nature of the ceremonial, and those whose pleasure and privilege it has been to attend the celebration of their Qūrbānō cannot have failed to mark the deep reverence, devotion, and attention with which they follow it.

5

The liturgy in the following pages speaks for itself. We have endeavoured, on the one hand, to keep to the path of the liturgical tradition of the centuries; on the other, to make practical provision for the needs of the people for whom the liturgy is intended. We have, therefore, adopted the arrangement of the 'Prayers of the Catechumens' and the 'Prayers of the Faithful'—an ancient, and, in a non-

Christian country, a very practical arrangement; and, more particularly in the Anaphora, we have taken for our model the Syriac Liturgy of St. James, the practical value of which to Indians has already been pointed out. Into this framework, however, we have introduced several features which do not properly belong to an Eastern rite. It was our aim, while taking for our model an Eastern liturgy, to preserve something of the variableness which Indians have learnt to value as expressing the spirit of festival and fast, and which is a distinctive feature of Western rites; and to provide, in addition to the Thanksgiving of the Preface and to the Intercession after the Consecration, an opportunity for thanksgiving and intercession which should vary as need and occasion arose. To this end we retained the variable Collect and Preface of Prayer Book use; and we provided that the litany in the Prayers of the Catechumens should include biddings to thanksgiving as well as to prayer, and that biddings to either of these should be added as occasion should require. We wished also to make the Prayers of the Catechumens as complete a service in itself for them, as the whole liturgy is for the faithful. We therefore included an Old Testament Lesson in addition to the Epistle and Gospel, the sermon, and a prayer for the catechumens before their dismissal, in the first half of the service. At the same time, the Prayers of the Catechumens would be the 'Morning Prayer' of the faithful, as in the time of St. Justin Martyr, and non-attendance at Matins (which is in most cases the rule when the sung Eucharist is the chief service of Sunday) would not thereby entail the loss of the Old Testament Lesson. Some word of explanation may be necessary for the position which

we have assigned to the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' and for the restriction which we have put upon its use. Its present position in the Prayer Book, as a people's thanksgiving after Communion, is neither satisfactory nor of any antiquity. Sung as the morning hymn in Eastern offices, it has always been associated with the Ordinary of the Mass in the West, and is sung after the Kyrie eleison in the Roman Rite, a position which it held in the Prayer Book of 1549. Originally used at Rome at the midnight Mass of Christmas, its use was subsequently extended to Sundays and festivals when a bishop was the celebrant. Priests were not permitted to sing it save at Easter. It was not until the eleventh century that its use by priest and bishop alike became general. We have, therefore, ample liturgical precedent for restricting its use to great festivals, for which its joyful character makes it specially suited. There is also liturgical precedent for the position which we have assigned to it as an Entrance Hymn. As has been pointed out above, it belongs rather to the Morning Office, the Prayer of the Catechumens, than to the Eucharist, the Prayers of the Faithful; and just such another hymn in honour of the Trinity is sung during the Entrance in Greek St. James. Syriac St. James, also, seems to have started, in the time of George of the Arabs and of Bar Kēphā, with an address to the Trinity—the Trisagion. Recognising, however, the appropriateness and value of a hymn of thanksgiving sung by the people after the priest's Prayer of Thanksgiving, we have provided three such hymns before the Dismissal. The first of these is taken from the Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari, and, though now sung at the time of Communion, was originally sung after it before the priest's Prayer

of Thanksgiving. It has for us the additional interest of having once been used in Malabar, when the Christians of St. Thomas shared the East Syrian Rite with their Nestorian co-religionists of Persia. As in this case, so in others, we have not hesitated to draw upon liturgies other than Syriac St. James for prayers particularly suited to our purpose. A table will be found at the end of this book giving the provenance of the several prayers of our liturgy.

That our work suffers from defects none are more conscious than we ourselves. That the liturgy is not yet sufficiently Indianised we are the first to admit. But we would point out that it is but a first step towards the realisation of the Prayer Book ideal for the Indian Church, and that we do not pretend it to be the realisation of that ideal. Liturgical purists will perhaps find fault with us because we have combined Eastern with Western features, and have collected our prayers from many sources, and not from one liturgy alone. Others again will condemn us in that in our endeavour to be true to the ideal which the Anglican Church has set before us, we have ventured to depart from that use which she herself has given us. But it is our plain duty, if we discover that the means to the attainment of our ideal—that of rendering a ‘reasonable sacrifice’ to Almighty God—fail us, to reform, not our ideal, but the means which have grown outworn. It is but this which we have attempted to do. To these, then, and to all our critics, we would reply in the words of the Epistle, which St. Gregory the Great, himself a liturgical reformer, wrote to St. Augustine when the Roman missionaries in Britain were confronted by the same task which lies before the British missionaries in India—‘*Sed mihi placet,*’ he says, ‘*sive in*

Romana, sive in Galliarum seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quae adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione praecipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta sunt, elige, et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.'

'Ecce, nunc, O lector, hic fasciculus.'

THE LITURGY

THE PREPARATION SERVICE

On some day before Sundays and Great Festivals there shall always be held a service of preparation for Holy Communion, and at this time all who purpose to communicate on the day of the Celebration shall as of obligation be present. The Office of Preparation shall include some time for quiet self-examination, in which matter the priest may give direction to the thoughts of his people by questions based upon the Ten Commandments or the twofold Law of Love, or by any other such questions as may seem to him most convenient for bringing them to a lively sense of their sins. And thereafter they shall all together make confession of the same, and receive assurance of absolution, for which purpose the priest may at his discretion use the form of Confession, Absolution, and the Comfortable Words, as contained in the English Prayer Book of 1662, following the same with the Prayer beginning :— We do not presume to come to Thy table, O Merciful Lord, and with such other prayers, elsewhere contained or of his own creating, as he may deem fit.

CONTENTS

1. The Prayers before the Service.
2. The Order for the Celebration of the Divine Liturgy.
3. The Prayers in the Vestry after the Service.
4. The Proper Prefaces appointed to be used throughout the Year.

THE DIVINE LITURGY

THE PRAYERS BEFORE THE SERVICE

Before the service, the Deacon shall set in readiness so much bread upon the Paten, and so much wine, mixed with a little pure water, in the Chalice, as he shall think sufficient; and the Priest shall bless them, saying the prayer following :

O LORD our God, who didst send forth thy heavenly bread, the food of the whole world, even Jesus Christ thine only Son, to save us and to redeem us, to bless us and to sanctify us : Vouchsafe now to bless this our oblation, and to accept it on thine altar in Heaven. Do thou remember, O Lover of Man, both them that offer it and them for whom it is offered; and do thou preserve us thy servants uncondemned in the ministration of the divine mysteries : for hallowed and blessed is thy glorious name, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Deacon set the sacred vessels upon the altar, covering them with a decent veil.

And, at the time appointed, being duly vested, the Priest and all those who are to share in the service of the sanctuary, standing in the vestry, shall say the prayers following :

Priest. Peace be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

Priest. Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and all-holy Father, we thine unworthy servants humbly entreat thy majesty so to prepare us for this sacred service, that entering with a pure heart into thy sanctuary, we may offer to thee the sacrifice of this Holy Eucharist for thy honour and glory ; in remembrance of thy manifold mercies vouchsafed to us in our Saviour Jesus Christ ; for the well-being of thy whole Church ; and to the remission of our own manifold sins and offences. Vouchsafe, O Fountain of Mercy, to accept this our pure sacrifice through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour ; who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, ever One God, world without end. Amen.

THE PRAYERS OF THE CATECHUMENS

During the entry of the Priest and his attendants into the church, shall be sung the Introit, which at Christmas, Easter, and all other Great Festivals shall be as follows :

GLORY to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, quietness and good hope unto men. We praise thee ; we bless thee ; we worship thee ; the fulness of glory do we offer thee ; we give thanks to thee for the greatness of thy glory, O Lord our Maker, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty : and to thee, O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost.

O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son and Word of the Father, that bearest now, as once thou borest, the sin of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that bearest now, as once thou borest, the sin of the world, incline thine ear to us and receive our prayer. Thou that sittest in glory at the right hand of the Father, shew thy pity and have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, O Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

The Introit ended, the Priest, having set on incense and blessed it, shall solemnly cense the altar and sanctuary therewith, after which the

Deacon, taking the censer from him, shall cense the celebrant and other ministers and persons in the sanctuary, as also the choir, congregation, and the whole church, the people standing.

And, at the time when he censes the altar, the Priest shall say :

May the incense of the merits of Christ our Saviour which we plead before thee, O Lord our God, avail unto us for the remission of our sins and for the reward of eternal life ; and do thou, O life-giving Son, who by thy Cross hast saved us, set us on thy right hand in the day when thy mercy flasheth forth ; who livest and reignest God for ever and ever.

And the people shall answer here, and after all other prayers which the Priest says with a loud voice, Amen.

Then the Deacon shall say the Litany, which shall always include at least these biddings here following : and if there be any other matters, concerning which thanksgiving or prayer is to be offered, they shall be inserted after that bidding with which they shall appear most consonant.

After each several bidding to thanksgiving the people shall answer : Thanks be to God ; and after each bidding to prayer : Lord, have mercy.

Let us thank God for his manifold mercies vouchsafed unto us.

Let us pray for Christian people, specially for those in this diocese.

Let us pray for the healing of the divisions of Christendom.

Let us pray for missionary workers, and for God's blessing upon their labours.

Let us pray for catechumens and inquirers.

Let us pray for the conversion of all unbelievers.

Let us pray for the coming of God's kingdom in this world.

Let us pray for preservation from sickness, pestilence and famine.

Let us pray for the supply of all our manifold necessities.

Let us pray for all in need, sickness, or suffering.

Let us pray for the faithful departed.

The Priest, meantime, standing in the sanctuary with his attendants, shall make silent intercession to Almighty God; and, the Litany ended, he shall say this collect following :

O LORD, who hast given us grace with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and dost promise, that if two or three shall be agreed together in thy name thou wilt grant their requests ; fulfil now the desires and petitions of thy servants,

as may be most expedient for them ; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us pray.

Then shall be said the Collect of the Day.

And, immediately after the Collect, the people being seated, a Deacon, or other fit person appointed for the purpose, shall read the Lesson from the Old Testament, saying :

The Lesson is written in the — Chapter of — beginning at the — verse. And, the Lesson ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Lesson.

Then shall a Psalm or portion of a Psalm be sung.

Then shall the Deacon read the Epistle, saying :

The Epistle is written in the — Chapter of — beginning at the — verse. And, the Epistle ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle.

Then shall be sung an hymn, the people standing.

And, during this singing, the Priest shall say privately :

Grant us, O Lord God, the knowledge of thy divine words, and fill us with the understanding of thy holy gospel ; that we may in all things fulfil thy

blessed will, and be accounted worthy of the merits which proceed from thee, now and for ever. Amen.

Then shall he again set on and bless the incense, which shall be burned during the reading of the Gospel.

Then shall the Deacon say: In silence stand and give heed unto the Holy Gospel.

And the Priest shall read the Gospel, saying first: Peace be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. The Holy Gospel is written in the — Chapter of — beginning at the — verse.

People. Glory be to thee, O Lord.

And after the Gospel, they shall say:

Thanks be to thee, O Christ.

Then shall the Priest, or other minister, declare unto the people what holy-days, or fasting days, are in the week following to be observed. He shall publish banns of marriage, and shall inform the people of all matters concerning which notice is needed to be given.

Then shall follow the Sermon or Instruction.

And, the Sermon ended, the churchwardens shall receive the alms and other devotions of the people, which the Priest shall present before God at the altar.

Then shall the Deacon say : Let us pray unto God for the catechumens, that he may reveal unto them the gospel of truth, and may unite them unto his holy Church.

And the Priest shall say :

O LORD our God, who dwellest in the heavens, and lookest in mercy upon all thy works ; look down upon thy servants, the catechumens, who have bowed their heads before thee ; grant them gladly to bear thine easy yoke, and make them to be members of thy holy Church ; account them worthy of the washing of regeneration for the remission of their sins, and clothe them in the incorruptible garment of thy salvation, that they may know thee, the only true God, and may with us exalt thy mighty and all-glorious name, with the name of thy blessed Son, and of thy Holy Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Deacon give notice to the catechumens and to all unbaptized or excommunicate persons that they forthwith depart from the church, saying :

Let all catechumens now depart.

Let none that is excommunicate or unbaptized remain in the church.

And he shall take good heed that none remain.

But if there be no catechumens present, the Prayer for the Catechumens together with the Deacon's bidding and the Dismissal shall be omitted.

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

Then the people standing, the Deacon shall say :

Let us who are of the household of faith together make profession of our Christian belief, and say :

The Priest and the people. I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible :

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made : Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father, And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead : Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and

the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Then shall the Deacon say : Give we the Peace.

The Priest. Grant, O Lord, that free from all guile and hypocrisy, we may greet one another with an holy kiss.

And, turning to the people, he shall say : The peace of the Lord be always with you.

And they shall answer : And with thy spirit.

Then shall the Peace be given.

And, in the meanwhile, a basin of water being brought to him, the Priest shall wash his hands therein, saying secretly :

WASH away, O Lord God, the foul pollution of my soul, and cleanse me with the water of life : that in all purity and holiness I may be accounted worthy to enter thy holy of holies.

Then shall he remove the veil from the sacred vessels, saying secretly :

O GOD our Father, who of thy tender love towards mankind didst send thy Son into the world to bring back the sheep that had gone astray : reject not us who offer unto thee this bloodless sacrifice, for we trust not in our own righteousness but in thy mercies, and grant that this mystery which is administered for our salvation be not turned to our condemnation ; but that we may thereby receive remission of our sins, and may render unto thee due praise and thanksgiving ; as also unto thine only-begotten Son, and to thine all-holy and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

And thereafter shall he cense the oblation, saying :

WE offer unto thee incense, O Lord our God, for a savour of spiritual sweetness ; beseeching thee to accept it before thine altar in heaven, and to send down upon us the grace of thy Holy Spirit, now and ever. Amen.

THE ANAPHORA

Then the Priest, turning to the people, shall say :

THE love of God the Fa~~X~~ther ; the grace of the
only-begotten S~~X~~on ; and the fellowship and
indwelling of the Holy Spi~~X~~rit be with you all, my
brethren, for ever.

The people. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Your hearts be with Christ on high.

The people. Our hearts are with the Lord.

The Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord
God.

The people. It is meet and right so to do.

And, turning again to the Altar, the Priest shall
proceed, saying :

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty,
that we should at all times, and in all places, give
thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, Father Almighty,
Everlasting God.

Here shall follow the Proper Preface according to
the season. After each of which Prefaces shall
be said :

Therefore with martyrs and apostles, and with the
great company of thy saints triumphant, we laud and
magnify thy glorious Name : and we worship and
adore thy Majesty with angels and archangels, and

with all the host of heaven, who ever fly before thy throne, praising thee, and chanting, and saying,

The people. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.

Hosanna in the highest : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : Hosanna in the highest.

And here it is to be noted, that from the singing of Holy, Holy, Holy, until the end of the Great Intercession, incense is to be burned within the Sanctuary.

Then shall the Priest proceed, saying :

HOLY in truth art thou, O Father Almighty, Eternal King, and in thine every gift and work dost thou reveal thy holiness unto men. Holy is thine only-begotten Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ ; and holy thine ever-blessed Spirit, who searcheth out thy secret things.

Even as in truth thou art holy, O Lord, so also that he might dwell in holiness before thee, didst thou create man in thine own image ; whom, when he transgressed thy commandments and fell, thou didst not abandon nor despise, but didst chasten him as a merciful Father, speaking unto him by thy priests and by thy prophets ; and, when the fulness of time was come, thou spakest unto us also by thine only-begotten Son, whom thou didst send into the world to take our nature upon him, that he might

become man like as we are, and might renew thine image within us ;

Who, in the same night that he gave himself to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, took bread into his holy and spotless hands, and, looking heavenward unto thee (**here the Priest is to look upward**), O God our Father, bless~~ed~~ed, brake, and gave it to his apostles, saying : Take, eat ; this is my Body which is given for you for the remission of sins and for life everlasting.

And the people shall say : Amen.

Likewise after supper he took the cup, and, when he had given thanks, he bless~~ed~~ed and gave it to them, saying : Drink ye all of this ; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins and for life everlasting.

And again the people shall say : Amen.

Do this in remembrance of me ; for as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death and proclaim my resurrection until I come.

The people. Thy death, O Lord, we commemorate ; thy resurrection we confess ; and thy second coming we await. We ask of thee, also, mercy and compassion, and implore forgiveness of our sins.

And the Priest shall proceed, saying :

Wherefore, O heavenly Father, we thine humble servants, being mindful of the precious death of thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ ; as also of his glorious resurrection from the dead ; his triumphant ascension into heaven ; and his session in majesty at thy right hand ; do offer unto thee the pure and bloodless sacrifice of these thy holy gifts, making thus the memorial which he hath willed us to make, and rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for all thy dispensation towards us.

The people. We give thanks to thee, we praise thee, we glorify thee, O Lord our God, and we pray thee to show thy mercy upon us and to hearken unto the voice of our prayer.

Then the Deacon shall give warning to the people, saying :

How fearful is this hour, O my brethren, how awful is this time, wherein the holy and quickening Spirit descends and moves upon our Eucharist to the hallowing thereof. Let us fall and prostrate ourselves with fear and trembling.

And therewith they shall all fall prostrate with their faces to the ground, and shall so continue at least until the prayer following be ended. And, the people being thus prostrate, the Priest shall

say secretly or in a low tone the Invocation of the Holy Spirit :

SHEW thou thy mercy upon us, O Lord, and upon these thy gifts of bread and wine send down thy Holy Spirit, that by his power they may become unto us the Body and the Blood of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may hallow the spirits, the souls, and the bodies of all who partake of them, to the bringing forth of the fruit of good works and to the strengthening of thy Church upon the rock of faith ; (and in a loud voice) through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Then shall silence be kept for a space, the people worshipping.

And thereafter the Deacon, standing and turning to the people, shall say :

Let us pray unto the Lord for his grace and mercy.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Let us pray, at this dread time, for all men both living and departed.

And the Priest shall proceed, saying :

WE humbly offer and present unto thee, O Lord our God, this our pure sacrifice and bloodless oblation, making intercession before all things for thy holy Church throughout the world ; that thou wouldest bestow upon her the gifts of thy Holy Spirit, and wouldest grant unto her that peace and unity which are agreeable to thy will.

And therein we pray for all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other orders of thy Church, and specially for **NN** ; beseeching thee to grant them thy grace, that both by their life and doctrine they may set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly fulfil the ministry which thou hast committed to their charge.

And we humbly beseech thee, O Lord, to remember for good all them that travel by land, by water, or by air ; as also to be mindful of them that suffer captivity, slavery, sickness, or any other adversity ; and to show thy pity upon them that are vexed by unclean spirits. Send unto them the angel of thy mercy to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities, and to preserve them to the attainment of eternal life.

To us also thy servants, O Lord, and to all thy Christian people, vouchsafe thy grace and thy mercy ; that we may be preserved from all things hurtful both to our souls and bodies, and may be

delivered from those afflictions which through our sins are fallen upon us. Grant us to continue in the true faith of thy holy Church, and to walk steadfastly in the ways of thy commandments unto our lives' end.

We pray thee also, O Lord, to remember all Christian governors and those in authority under them, specially **NN** ; aid them with the armour of thy Spirit, that in all things they may seek thy honour and glory, and that under them thy people may joyfully serve thee in all quietness and godly fear.

And we entreat thee also, O Lord, mercifully to bless the air and the dews, the rains and the winds ; that through thy heavenly benediction we may be saved from dearth and famine, and may enjoy the fruits of the earth in all abundance and plenty ; for the eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them their meat in due season.

And here, O heavenly Father, we yield unto thee praise and thanksgiving for thy great glory declared in thy saints from the beginning of the world, but specially in the glorious and ever-blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, as also in thy holy Apostle Saint Thomas (and, if it be the Feast-day of any other saint or saints, or confessor or martyr, here shall be added : Thy blessed Saint **N**, or Saints **NN**, or thy blessed Confessor **N**, or Martyr **N**), and in all thine evangelists

and doctors, who have been thy witnesses unto the uttermost parts of the earth ; and we beseech thee so to unite us to their holy fellowship that they may share with us in the communion of this our sacrifice and continually assist us by their prayers.

Finally, we commend to thy fatherly goodness the souls of thy servants who have departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now repose in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy tender mercy and everlasting rest ; and vouchsafe unto us their brethren an end both Christian and free from sin, and gather us beneath the feet of thine elect, when thou wilt and as thou wilt, only without shame by reason of our faults ; that in this, as in all things, thy blessed Name may be exalted and glorified together with the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of thine all-holy and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Priest perform the Fraction, saying secretly :

Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord, that, as the body of thy blessed Son was broken (here the Priest shall break the Host) on the Cross (here the Priest shall make the sign of the Cross over the chalice with a portion of the broken Host) that we might become one with him ; so we who now partake of these holy mysteries may be united in the fellowship of his

mystical Body and (here the Priest shall place the portion of the Host in the chalice) share with him in the glory of his resurrection; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

And, if the number of those desiring to communicate be large, the Deacon shall assist the Priest in breaking the bread.

And while the Priest performs the Fraction the people shall in the meantime sing the anthem following:

We have known the Lord, Alleluia: in the breaking of the bread, Alleluia.

The bread which we break, Alleluia: is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Alleluia.

The cup which we bless, Alleluia: is the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Alleluia.

And the anthem ended, the Priest shall say:

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say:

And all together shall say: Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against

us ; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil.

And the Priest shall proceed : Yea, Lord, we pray thee, suffer us not to be tempted above that we are able, but deliver us from the power of the evil one : for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Priest. Peace be with you.

The people. And with thy spirit.

Then shall the Deacon say : Let us pray unto the Lord that he make us worthy to partake of these mysteries which we have offered.

And the Priest shall say the prayer following : Grant us thy blessing, we beseech thee, O Lord ; and of thy mercy vouchsafe that in all purity of heart and mind we may receive the Communion of the Body and Blood of thy Son : who with thee and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.

And turning himself to the people, he (or the Bishop, if he be present) shall bless them, saying : May the mercy of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

Then shall the Deacon say : Give we heed in fear.

And the Priest, extending the Gifts towards the people, shall say : Holy things for holy persons.

Then shall he first receive the Gifts in both kinds himself, saying when he partaketh of the bread : The Body of Christ, the Bread of Life ; and, when he partaketh of the cup : The Blood of Christ, the Chalice of Life ; and to whomsoever the Gifts be administered, these same words shall be used therewith.

And thereafter he shall deliver the same to such of the Deacons and other persons within the sanctuary and of the choir, as shall be minded to partake of the Holy Communion. And afterwards the people shall receive thereof, as they may be disposed.

And during the administration of the Holy Sacrament to the people shall be sung :

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ; have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ; have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ; grant us thy peace.

Or some other hymn.

And, when all have communicated, the Priest shall return to the altar, and shall reverently consume what remaineth of the Consecrated Elements

(except such as he may wish to reserve for the Communion of the sick), and thereafter shall again cover the sacred vessels with the veil; and, if he so desire, a basin with water shall be brought to him, and he shall wash his hands therein.

And, turning to the people, he shall say : Peace be with you.

And they shall answer : And with thy spirit.

Then shall the Deacon say : Let us give thanks unto the Lord, for that he hath vouchsafed us to partake of his holy mysteries, and hath refreshed us with food from his heavenly table.

Then shall the Priest say one or other of these prayers following :

WE heartily thank thee, O Lord our God, for the greatness of thy mercy, whereby we have been accounted worthy to partake of thy heavenly table : and we pray thee to grant that we be not condemned for receiving this holy Communion, but that in the fellowship of thy Holy Spirit we may obtain a portion and an inheritance with all thy saints, who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, and that we may render unto thee due praise and thanksgiving : as also unto thine only-begotten Son, and to thine all-holy and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

WE bless thee, O Lord our God, and we most heartily thank thee for this thy goodness towards us: and we pray thee that the communion of these thy mysteries may be unto us for the remission of our sins and offences; for the greater confirmation of our faith; for the keeping of thy holy commandments; and for a sure and certain hope before the dread tribunal of thy Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be ascribed, as is most justly due, all praise and thanksgiving, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Then shall the people and the choir sing this hymn following:

STRENGTHEN, Lord, for holy service hands which took thy mysteries here;
Be the ears which heard thy praises shielded from the voice of fear;
Eyes which saw thy great compassion see thy blessed hope appear.

May the tongues which chanted 'Holy' ever unto truth incline;
Grant the feet which walked thy temple in the land of light to shine;
Bodies, by thy Body nourished, quicken thou with life divine.

With thy worshippers abide thou ; may thy love direct our
ways ;

Hear the prayers we lift before thee, and accept our thankful
praise.

May thy peace and mercy keep us safe from harm through
all our days.

In the hour of thine appearing may we stand before thy
face ;

Raise we ever glad hosannas for the wonder of thy grace ;

For thy love hath shined upon us to redeem our mortal
race.

Lord, who deign'st on our offences mercy's pardoning
streams to pour,

Grant us grace to own thy God-head and in reverent faith
adore,

To thy sovereignty uplifting praise and blessing evermore.
Amen.

Or this :

FROM glory unto glory advancing on our way.

We hymn thee, Christ our Saviour, our soul's eternal stay.

From strength to strength advancing, as from thy house
we go,

We pray thee in our weakness thy perfect strength to show.

Direct our way before thee ; preserve us in thy love ;

And grant us through thy mercy thy heavenly realm above.

From glory unto glory advancing on our way,

We hymn thee, Christ our Saviour, our soul's eternal stay.

Or this ; when the service is not sung :

FINISHED and perfected is the mystery of thy dispensation, as far as in us lies. We have made the memorial of thy Death, we have seen the symbol of thy Resurrection, we have been filled with thine inexhaustible bounty, and enriched with thine undying life ; of the which do thou vouchsafe to count us worthy in the world to come, O Christ our God ; to whom with thy Father eternal and thine all-holy and quickening Spirit be ascribed, as is most justly due, all praise and thanksgiving, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Then the Priest, turning to the people, shall let them go, saying :

Unto the mercies of the holy and glorious Trinity, brethren, we commit you ; go ye with the food of your pilgrimage in peace and gladness.

And, the people being thus dismissed, the Priest and those with him in the sanctuary shall forthwith return to the vestry.

THE VESTRY PRAYERS

The Priest, having returned to the vestry, shall say :

O LORD, who hast vouchsafed unto us to be sanctified by the participation of the most holy Body and precious Blood of thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, grant us also the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that we may be preserved unblameable in the faith, and lead us unto our perfect sonship and redemption, and to the attainment of everlasting felicity ; who with the same thine only-begotten Son and thine all-holy Spirit art our sanctification and light, now and always. Amen.

Then shall the Deacon say : Be we preserved in the peace of Christ.

The Priest. Blessed be God, who blesseth and sanctifieth us by the receiving of his holy and spotless mysteries, now and for ever, and world without end. Amen.

And, the service being ended, the Deacon shall remove the holy vessels from the altar, and thoroughly cleanse them with water, wiping them

carefully with a clean towel; and, as he cleanses the vessels, he shall say :

WASH away, O Lord, with the cleansing of thy mercy all mine offences; and vouchsafe unto me, O Christ, thou King and Giver of Life, with all the righteous who have desired and loved thee, to serve thee in thine everlasting kingdom, now and ever. Amen.

THE PROPER PREFACES TO BE USED THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

On Trinity Sunday, and all the Sundays of the year for which no Proper Preface has been appointed.

WHO with thine only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit art one God and one Lord; not one only Person, but three Persons in one substance, for that which by thy revelation we believe of thy glory, the same we believe of thy Son and of the Holy Spirit, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with martyrs, etc.

From Christmas Day, until Epiphany :

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as on this day (but between Christmas Day and Epiphany shall be said: As at this time) for us; who by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very Man, of the substance of the

Blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with martyrs, *etc.*

Upon the Epiphany and seven days after :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, who, in substance of our mortal flesh, manifested forth his glory, that he might bring us out of darkness into his marvellous light. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon the Purification, as also upon the Commemoration of the blessed Sacrament, and Feast of the Holy Name :

BECAUSE, through the mystery of the Incarnate Word, the new light of thy brightness has shone upon our understanding, that while we acknowledge him to be the visible God, we may be raised up by him to the love of things invisible. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon the Annunciation, and all other feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary save the Purification :

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born for us ; who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very Man, of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, and that without spot of sin to make us clean from all sin. Therefore, *etc.*

Another Preface which may be used on all feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary save the Purification :

BECAUSE by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost the blessed and ever-glorious Virgin Mary did both conceive thine only-begotten Son, and in the glory of her virginity pour forth the eternal light upon the world, even Jesus Christ our God. Therefore, *etc.*

From Passion Sunday till Maundy Thursday, and on feasts of the Holy Cross :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord ; who, being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross, that, being lifted up from the earth, he might draw all men unto him. Therefore, *etc.*

From Easter Day until Ascension Day :

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, for he is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world ; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore, *etc.*

From Ascension Day till Whitsun Eve, save when the Proper Preface for any Saint's Day is appointed to be said :

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord ; who, after his most glorious Resurrection, manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us ; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon Whitsunday, and six days after :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord ; who ascending up into heaven and sitting on thy right hand, according to his most true promise did as on this day (*during the six days after Whitsunday shall be said :* As at this time) send down thine Holy Spirit upon the children of adoption, to teach them and to lead them into all truth, giving them boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations ; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon Feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, save when the Proper Preface for any of the Great Festivals is appointed to be said :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord ; who did vouchsafe to choose thy servant, Saint **N** (or thy servants Saint **N** and Saint **N**) to be of the company of the Apostles (or to be an Evangelist), by whose ministry thine elect might be gathered in from every nation, and thy Church instructed in the way that leadeth unto everlasting life. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon All Saints' Day, and all other Saints' Days for which no Proper Preface is appointed to be said :

WHO in the multitude of thy Saints hast compassed us about with so great a cloud of witnesses, to the end that we, rejoicing in their fellowship, may run with patience the race that is set before us, and together with them receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away. Therefore, *etc.*

At the Dedication of a Church, and upon the Anniversary of the Dedication :

WHO in temples made with hands buildest up for thyself a spiritual temple made without hands. Therefore, *etc.*

At the Consecration of Bishops, and at the Ordination of Priests and Deacons :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, the great Shepherd of the sheep, who, for the feeding and guidance of his flock, did appoint divers orders of ministers in his Church. Therefore, *etc.*

At the Commemoration of the Departed :

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom there hath shined forth on us the hope of a blessed resurrection, that we who are grieved with the certain knowledge of our mortality may by the firm assurance of immortality be comforted ; seeing that in death thy faithful servants die not, though they be changed ; for when the house of their earthly tabernacle is dissolved, there is prepared for them an habitation eternal in the heavens. Therefore, *etc.*

APPENDIX I

THE VESTMENTS

SOME word needs to be said about Eucharistic Vestments. The two uses of the surplice, and of the usual Western Vestments, are to be found in India as in England. The former is undesirable for two reasons. It is a peculiarly Western garment and has no particularly religious significance for the Indian mind, as, for instance, the saffron robe; and it is a distinct departure from the practice of the universal Church, and is essentially representative of party views in the Church of England. It is well to point out in this connection that the Reformed Churches of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, though in no way favouring sacerdotal teaching with regard to the Eucharist, retained the Eucharistic Vestments; and though they have dropped out of use in Germany, they are still the vesture of the officiating minister in Sweden and Denmark. 'The value of Eucharistic Vestments at the present day,' says Dr. Frere, 'rests on their universal and distinctive character. . . . They are part of the uniformity that for centuries has prevailed in broad outline through catholic Christendom. They, therefore, do not represent the eucharistic doctrine of a party, but the fundamental agreement of the whole Church on the main facts (apart from theories) of the Eucharist.'¹ The vestments in use in Eastern churches are slightly different in shape from those of the West; and, for obvious reasons, it is more natural that the Indian Church should adopt the Eastern rather than the Western form. As worn among the Malabar Christians, they are as follows:— (1) The cuthīnō, or albe (χιτώνιον). (2) The urārō (ὠράριον), or stole, a broad strip of silk, with a hole at one end for the head. (3) The zunārō (ζωνάριον), the girdle, girding the albe and the stole. (4) The zendi, or sleeves, made of embroidered silk and fitting close to the

¹ *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial*, Oxford Library of Practical Theology, Longmans, pp. 291, 212.

arm, corresponding to our maniple. (5) The phainō (φαινώλιον), corresponding to our chasuble, made of embroidered silk, and rather like a Western cope without its hood. Deacons wear the albe and a particular kind of stole, made of a very narrow strip of silk, and worn with the centre of it across the stomach, crossed on the back, and with the ends hanging over the shoulders through the band made by the centre of the stole. Both orders wear small, round, black caps in service time, and the deacons are always barefooted. Priests are supposed to wear sandals, or buskins, but these are not always worn. There is no system of liturgical colours, and the same vestments are worn all the year round.

APPENDIX II

THE CENSING AND THE KISS OF PEACE

It is contrary to Anglican tradition, and, owing to the architectural arrangements, frequently impossible, that ceremonies should be 'in all places one.' It is, however, desirable that the Censing and the Kiss of Peace should be everywhere the same.

I. *The Censing*.—This is not done after the Western fashion. The celebrant takes the censer (the chains of which are not usually more than two feet in length) in his right hand, and standing several paces away from the front of the altar, bows and censens the middle of it three times. He next censens the north and south ends. Going then to the north side, he censens there, and proceeding to the south side and censing as he goes, he censens the south side of the sanctuary. The deacon then takes the censer from him, and censens the celebrant three times. He then censens each person in the sanctuary in the same way, and going into the body of the church, censens the congregation on either side of the central aisle.

II. *The Kiss of Peace, or 'Shāntiwandan.'*¹—The deacon

¹ Literally 'Salutation of Peace.'

takes the chains of the censer just above the lid into his left hand, and in his right holds them at the top. He then approaches the altar to the right of the celebrant, and kissing it, presents the centre of the hanging chains. The celebrant takes the centre of the chains into his right hand, and kissing them, offers his hand to the deacon to kiss. The deacon kisses it, and the priest makes the sign of the cross on his (the deacon's) forehead. He then relinquishes his hold of the chains, and the deacon, again kissing the altar, goes to the bishop and other priests in the sanctuary, if any be present, and receives from them the kiss in the same way. Still holding the chains as described above, the deacon next approaches any other deacon or deacons in the sanctuary, and turning his palms inwards takes the right hand of the other between them, and so receives the kiss from him. Finally, relinquishing his hold of the chains above the lid, he holds the censer in his right hand only, and going to the nearest layman of the congregation, takes the layman's outstretched right hand between his joined palms, and so gives him the kiss. The layman passes the kiss to his neighbour in the same way, and he to his, and so on until all in the church have received it.

APPENDIX III

THE USE OF THE 'CHAPĀTĪ'

The wheaten 'chapātī' is the ideal bread in India for the celebration of the Eucharist. It has the advantages, without the disadvantages, both of the wafer and the ordinary bread used in England. On the one hand, it is unleavened bread, and, if it is rightly made, need hardly crumble more than the wafer does. On the other hand, it is a common food of the people, which the wafer is not, and easily available everywhere; and, if its size be adjusted to the needs of the particular congregation, one chapātī may be divided amongst all the communicants up to almost any number, and the symbolism of the 'One Bread, One Body' preserved.

APPENDIX IV

A SHORTENED FORM FOR WEEK-DAY
CELEBRATIONS

For obvious reasons it would be impossible to use the Liturgy in its present form for week-day celebrations. For this purpose it would need to be considerably shortened, and at the same time would need to be a service complete in itself. We would, therefore, suggest that only the following should be used :

- I. The Litany and the Prayer after it, 'O Lord, who hast given us grace.'
- II. The Collect.
- III. The Epistle.
- IV. The Gospel, and the Prayer before the Gospel.
- V. The Lavatory Prayer, 'Wash away, O Lord God.'
[Could be omitted, if considered unnecessary.]
- VI. The Prayer of the Veil, 'O God our Father, who of Thy tender love.'
- VII. The whole of the Anaphora, from 'The Love of God the Father' to the Prayer of Thanksgiving, omitting 'We have known the Lord,' etc., and 'O Lamb of God,' etc.
- VIII. The third hymn before the Dismissal 'Finished and Perfected,' said by the people.
- IX. The Dismissal.

The celebrant himself should say the diaconal biddings, unless assisted by a deacon. Should it be necessary, the biddings for the dismissal of the catechumens, excommunicate, or unbaptized should be said; but the preceding prayer should be omitted.

A TABLE OF THE SOURCES OF THE PRAYERS IN THE LITURGY PUBLISHED IN THIS BOOK

Prayer of the Oblation of the Elements	Byzantine Proskomide. Translation.
Gloria in excelsis . . .	Text used by the Jacobites in the Divine Office.
First Prayer of the Incense	Adapted from an anthem used at ferial Lauds on Wednesday in the Jacobite Divine Office.
Prayer after the Litany .	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.
Prayer before the Gospel.	Syriac St. James. Abridged.
Prayer for the Catechumens	Liturgy of St. Basil. Translation.
‘The Peace of the Lord,’ etc.	Roman Mass. Translation.
Lavatory Prayer, ‘Wash away,’ etc.	Syriac St. James. Abridged.
Prayer of the Veil, ‘O God our Father’	Syriac St. James. Malabar text. Translation.
Second Prayer of the Incense	Byzantine Proskomide. Translation.
‘The Love of God the Father,’ etc.	Syriac St. James. Translation.
‘Your hearts be with Christ on high’ . . .	Suggested by the Malabar text of Syriac St. James.
‘Thy Death, O Lord, we commemorate’ . . .	Syriac St. James. Translation.
‘How terrible is this hour,’ etc.	Syriac St. James. Slightly altered.
The Epiclesis	Syriac St. James. Considerably abridged.
Anthem of the Fraction .	Stowe Missal. Adapted.
Introduction to the Lord’s Prayer	Prayer Book of 1549.
The Embolism	Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari. Slightly abridged.

Prayer before Communion.	Suggested by the corresponding prayer in the Liturgy of St. Basil.
The Blessing	Syriac St. James. Slightly altered.
Words of Administration.	Suggested by the Words of Administration in the Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites. (Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles.)
First Prayer of Thanksgiving	Syriac St. James. Malabar text. Translation.
Second Prayer of Thanksgiving	Syriac Anaphora of St. Julius of Rome. Malabar text. Translation.
First Hymn before the Dismissal	Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari. Metrical version by J. C. Winslow.
Second Hymn before the Dismissal	Greek St. James. Metrical version by J. C. Winslow.
Third Hymn before the Dismissal	Liturgy of St. Basil.
The Dismissal	Syriac St. James. Second and last clauses of the Dismissal in the Malabar text.
The Vestry Prayers	Greek St. James. Translation.
Prayer of Ablution	Syriac St. James. Adapted.

THE PREFACES

The Prefaces for Epiphany, the Annunciation, Festivals of Apostles, All Saints' Day, the Dedication of a Church, and the Consecration of Bishops and Ordination of Priests and Deacons, are taken from the Scottish Communion Office. The Prefaces for Christmas, Easter, and Ascension will be recognised as belonging to the Prayer Book. Those for the Purification, and for the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed, are translated from the Roman Mass.

That for Passion-tide is a combination of Phil. ii. 8, with John xii. 32. The Trinity Preface is a translation of the first half of the Trinity Preface in the Roman Rite. That for Whitsuntide is a combination of the first half of the corresponding Roman Preface and the second half of the Prayer Book Preface for Whitsuntide. The alternative for Festivals of the Blessed Virgin is a slightly altered form of the Roman Preface for such festivals.

DATE DUE

APR 19 1994			
APR 19 1994			
JUN 4 1994			
6/30/07			
GAYLORD			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01021 9741